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CONFIDENTIAL.

PART VIII.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

November and December 1876.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey.

Part VIII.

No. 1.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 1.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

THE Queen having been graciously pleased to appoint you to be Her Majesty's Special Ambassador to represent this country, conjointly with Sir Henry Elliot, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, in the Conference about to be held at that city, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency the accompanying Full Powers and Credentials.*

I am at the same time commanded by the Queen to convey to you the following general instructions for your Excellency's guidance.

As your Excellency is already acquainted with the course of the negotiations which have led to the proposal for a Conference, it is not necessary that I should enter into any statement of them. I accordingly merely inclose copies of the correspondence for reference when required.†

Among these papers your Lordship will find the despatch addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassadors on the 4th instant, in which Her Majesty's Government state that they believe, from the communications which they have received from the Powers, that there is a general feeling that the only solution of the questions arising out of recent events in Turkey is to be found in a Conference, and that they have determined to renew the suggestion made by them on the 5th of October, and at once to propose that a Conference should be held forthwith at Constantinople, in which all the Guaranteeing Powers and the Porte should take part, and each Government should be at liberty to appoint two Plenipotentiaries to represent it.

Her Majesty's Government submitted, as the bases for the deliberations of the Conference:—

1. The independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

2. A Declaration that the Powers do not intend to seek for, and will not seek for, any territorial advantage, any exclusive influence, or any concession with regard to the commerce of their subjects which those of every other nation may not equally obtain.

Such a Declaration was made on the 17th of September, 1840, in the Protocol for the Pacification of the Levant, and again on the 3rd of August, 1860, in regard to the Pacification of Syria.

* Full Powers and Credentials.

† "Correspondence respecting Affairs in the Herzegovina," Part I; ibid., Part II; ibid., Part III; ibid., Part IV; ibid., Part V. "Correspondence respecting Affairs in Turkey," Part VI; ibid., Part VII, pages 1–80. Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby, No. 472, October 23, 1876. Earl of Derby to Musurus Pasha, November 11, 1876.

3. The basis of pacification proposed to the Porte on the 25th of September, viz.:—

(*a.*) The *status quo*, speaking roughly, both as regards Servia and Montenegro.

(*b.*) That the Porte should simultaneously undertake, in a Protocol to be signed at Constantinople with the Representatives of the Mediating Powers, to grant to Bosnia and Herzegovina a system of local or administrative autonomy, by which is to be understood a system of local institutions which shall give the population some control over their own local affairs and guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary authority. There is to be no question of a tributary State.

Guarantees of a similar kind to be also provided against maladministration in Bulgaria.

The reforms already agreed to by the Porte, in the note addressed to the Representatives of the Powers on the 13th of February last, to be included in the administrative arrangements for Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and, so far as they may be applicable, for Bulgaria.

These bases have met with general acceptance by the other Powers, and may therefore be considered as regulating the deliberations of the Conference and marking the limits within which its discussions should be confined.

Her Majesty's Government do not anticipate that there need be any great difficulty in settling the terms of peace between Servia, Montenegro, and the Porte.

With regard to Servia the Ottoman Government originally made certain requirements stated in the Memorandum of the Porte of the 14th of September; but, these having been regarded as inadmissible by the Powers, the Porte has since, in taking act of the proposal of the Powers for the re-establishment of peace on the basis of the *status quo ante*, declared itself ready to submit to their decision. The Porte has therefore acquiesced in the *status quo*, at all events in principle. By the phrase used in the basis Her Majesty's Government have desired not to exclude from consideration any additional arrangement, as for instance the completion of the railway between Belgrade and Nisch, which may be of mutual advantage to both countries concerned.

The case of Montenegro is different. Her Majesty's Government have on several occasions expressed the opinion that it would be politic on the part of the Porte, and for the benefit of the Turkish Provinces adjoining Montenegro, as well as of the Principality, if some territorial concession were made to Montenegro which would have the effect of bringing under the rule of Prince Nicholas the adjacent population already allied to Montenegro and which is now only a source of weakness to Turkey.

Mr. Consul Holmes, who has an intimate knowledge of the country, has advised the cession to Montenegro of the districts of Piva, Drobniak, Baniani, and Zupci, and also the port of Spitza. He mentioned that the districts in question are of no sort of value to Turkey, but rather a cause of embarrassment; that they administer their own affairs without interference from the Ottoman authorities, and not only pay no taxes, but receive some small assistance from the Province to which they nominally belong.

The Austrian Government at one time seemed inclined to oppose any extension of Montenegro, but have since expressed an opinion that the demands and wishes of Prince Nicholas might be attended to when the question of the delimitation of the frontier was brought forward. The Austrian Government, however, still retain the belief that it would be inexpedient that any concession to Montenegro should include a seaport, and it is understood that the Italian Government take a similar view.

Her Majesty's Government do not share these apprehensions, since it appears to them that the possession of lands in the plains, and access to the sea, would encourage the people of Montenegro to engage in agriculture and commerce, and thus attain a state of civilization, prosperity, and contentment, which would be the best security for the maintenance of peace and good relations with the Porte.

The Prince of Montenegro has recently said that the concession of Spitza would be almost valueless, as there is no port there, nor any possibility of making one, and the mountains debar access on that side into the interior, and that the whole of the Suturman district, with the port of Antivari, ought to be ceded to him if the cession were to be of any value.

Your Excellency will find in the correspondence, and will, no doubt, have an opportunity of learning also at Constantinople, what are the concessions desired by His Highness.

Her Majesty's Government do not consider it necessary to express any opinion upon them at present further than that they would willingly see any satisfactory settlement of the question arrived at.

In the proposals for pacification which Sir Henry Elliot was instructed to make to

the Porte on the 21st of September, and which form the third basis for the Conference, Her Majesty's Government coupled with the conclusion of peace between the Porte and Servia and Montenegro the proposition to which I have already referred for a Protocol to be simultaneously signed by the Porte with the Representatives of the mediating Powers.

The Turkish Government have made strong objections to signing a Protocol, alleging that, should they consent to do so, the prestige and authority of the Porte in all parts of the Empire would be impaired, and they have asked whether it would not be sufficient that the promise should be made in identic notes to the foreign Representatives.

The Turkish Government have also remonstrated strongly against the proposal to grant any system of administrative autonomy to the Provinces. They have stated that the greatest inconvenience would be caused by the diplomatic discussion of questions of purely internal administration, and declared that they should consider any action which had for its object the interposition of the Powers between the populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their legitimate authority to be an infringement of the rights of sovereignty and independence of the Porte, and arguing further that an exceptional form of Government for the insurgent provinces would be an encouragement to fresh disorders in other parts of European Turkey, and would seriously disturb the general economy of the Empire.

Her Majesty's Government have been unable to agree in this view of the matter. They have replied that the mere announcement of reforms by the Porte cannot be accepted as sufficient, and that even if Her Majesty's Government would be disposed to accept such an announcement no other Power would do so: that a Protocol was signed with the Porte in regard to the Lebanon in 1860, and that as a matter of fact the Porte has been in correspondence with the Powers for the last two years with regard to the pacification of the Provinces, and both accepted, and urged on the acceptance of Her Majesty's Government, the note of Count Andrassy.

The objection to the grant of reforms to Bosnia and Herzegovina because they might occasion discontent elsewhere seems to Her Majesty's Government to be equally untenable.

The immediate necessity of the situation is to restore tranquillity to the disturbed Provinces. The course of events has made it obvious that this can now only be done by concert with the Powers, and it is in vain for the Porte to expect that the Powers will be satisfied with the mere general assurances which have already been so often given, and have proved to be so imperfectly executed. If the Conference should decide upon a scheme of administration for these particular Provinces, which may be applicable and advantageous to other Provinces, it will be open to the Porte to extend it to them. No doubt the Conference will give due weight to the reforms already promulgated, which will properly form an important element for consideration, but pacification cannot be attained by Proclamations, and the Powers have a right to demand, in the interest of the peace of Europe, that they shall examine for themselves the measures required for the reform of the administration of the disturbed Provinces, and that adequate security shall be provided for carrying those measures into operation.

Her Majesty's Government have thought it desirable to refer to these objections advanced by the Porte as they will probably be again put forward at the Conference or on your Excellency's arrival at Constantinople, and it is therefore right that you should be in a position to state positively that they cannot be entertained.

As the reforms recommended to the Porte by Count Andrassy have received the assent both of the Powers and the Porte, they may form a useful starting-point for the deliberations of the Conference.

These reforms were:—

"Religious liberty, full and entire;

"Abolition of the farming of taxes;

"A law to guarantee that the product of the direct taxation of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be employed for the immediate interests of the Province, under the control of bodies constituted in the sense of the Firman of December 12;

"The institution of a Special Commission, composed of an equal number of Mussulmans and Christians, to superintend the execution of the reforms proposed by the Powers, as well as of those proclaimed in the Iradé of October 2 and Firman of December 12;

"Lastly, the amelioration of the condition of the rural populations."

In the despatch which I addressed to Count Andrassy on the 25th of January last I pointed out that most of these recommendations were already provided for either by the Hatti-Scheriff of Gulhané of 1839, the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, or the Iradé and Firman of October 2 and December 12, 1875, and the abolition of the system of tax-

farming was already agreed to, but the question of the application of the direct taxes and the lease of land to the peasants, to which Count Andrassy also referred in his despatch, required further consideration.

Her Majesty's Government have sought, in the basis which they have now proposed, to expand this scheme of reforms so as to give it a more immediately practical character They believe that, so far as the laws of the Turkish Empire are concerned, religious liberty is already fully provided for, and that any reform required in this respect is to be secured not by enacting fresh laws but by providing for the faithful execution of those already existing.

One of the grievances complained of in Bosnia has been the prohibition of the use of bells in the Christian Churches, but this has been, at all events partially, removed. The refusal of Christian evidence has likewise been reported, and, although the Hatti-Humayoun expressly provides that Christians shall be admitted as witnesses, it is too probable that in remote districts, or where the Mussulman population is predominant and under little control, gross injustice is often committed by its exclusion. The real difficulty, however, in establishing religious liberty is the difficulty which lies at the root of the whole question of administrative reforms, viz., the fact that the Mussulmans have for generations exercised authority as the principal owners of the land, and never failed to find Christians willing to be subservient to them in the administration of the country.

The expression "direct taxation" has been shown to be somewhat ambiguous, but a well-defined control over the local taxation would be one of the reforms which would properly be comprised under the proposal of Her Majesty's Government. The Firman of December 12, promised a general revision and unification of the taxation of the Empire to be distributed in just proportion over the various provinces, and provided that the collection of the taxes should no longer be left to the police, but be entrusted to Collectors of the Revenue elected by the whole population, Mussulman and non-Mussulman, and acting under special instructions.

Her Majesty's Government are not aware that effect has yet been given to any measure of this kind, but it would be necessary that some steps should be taken to establish an equitable system of taxation before deciding on the distribution of the funds to be made applicable to local purposes. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that certain taxes have been hypothecated for the discharge of foreign loans, and that the withdrawal of the direct taxation of the Empire from the Treasury might have, as Her Majesty's Government remarked in their answer to Count Andrassy, the most serious effect in impeding the execution of those public works and other measures of general utility upon which the improvement of the condition of the population depends.

The system of local institutions contemplated by Her Majesty's Government to be granted to Bosnia and Herzegovina with the view of giving the population some control over their local affairs, would also imply a control over the application of local rates or other similar imposts levied within the province for local purposes.

The note of the Porte of October last provided for an extension of the Law establishing vilayets throughout the Empire.

This Law originally applied to the province of the Danube, but was extended and made applicable to the Empire generally, by a Law passed in 1867; and provided for the division of the Empire into provinces called vilayets, placed under Governors-General (Valis) named by the Sultan.

Each vilayet is divided into sandjaks (arrondissements), under the administration of a Mutessariff (Governor.)

The sandjak is divided into cazas (cantons) under the jurisdiction of a Kaimakam (Lieutenant-Governor).

The caza is divided into communes.

Groups of small villages, not of sufficient importance to form independent cazas, are incorporated with the nearest cazas under the name of "nahié."

Each of these divisions has a separate system of administration subordinate to the Vali.

The Vali is assisted by an Administrative Council, composed of the Chief Magistrate, who is the head of the Cheri (Mussulman religious tribunals), the Director of Finance, the Director of Correspondence, the Director of External Affairs, and four other members, two elected by the Mussulman population and two by the non-Mussulman.

There is also a General Council for each vilayet, composed of four members for each sandjak, two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans. This Council is convoked once a year, at the principal town of the vilayet, and its session is not to last more than forty days. It is the duty of this Council-General to attend to local matters, and its resolutions are transmitted by the Vali to the Imperial Government.

The Mutessariff governing each sandjak is assisted by an Administrative Council, composed of the Cadi of the central caza, the Mufti of the chief town, the Spiritual chiefs of the non-Mussulman population, the Sub-Director of Finance, the Director of Correspondence of the sandjak, and four permanent members—two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans. This Council regulates the affairs of the sandjak.

The Kaimakam governing a caza has an elective Council, three Mussulman and three non-Mussulman members.

In each commune there is also a Council called the "Conseil des Anciens," composed partly of Mussulman, partly of Christian members; the Imams and Spiritual Chiefs of the non-Mussulman population are *ex officio* members of the Council, which regulates the distribution of the taxes, and questions of public health and agriculture.

There have been other laws relating to the vilayets, but the foregoing account will be sufficiently full for the purposes of this despatch.

The note of October last stated that the Porte intended to add to this scheme of administration an Assembly General, elected by the inhabitants of the vilayets and the capital to meet at Constantinople for annual sessions of three months, and to vote the budgets of the Empire, laws, and taxes. There is also to be another Assembly or Senate nominated by the Government.

Sir Henry Elliot has stated that he is strongly of opinion, in common, he believes, with most of those persons who have bestowed attention on the subject, that the extension and real application of the law of the vilayets will offer a better prospect than any other scheme that has been proposed of leading to a better provincial administration and to the improvement of the condition of the people.

On the other hand, from reports received from Her Majesty's Consuls, it appears that the Medjlisses, or Provincial Councils, are constantly used as the means of local oppression and extortion by a certain number of the influential persons of the district who play into each others hands, confine the elections to their own relatives or dependants, connive with the tax farmers, and are able, by bribery and intrigue, to defy the authority of any Governor-General who may seek to interfere with them.

Nothing would be gained by giving the control of the taxation to bodies such as these are described to be, and it is on the control of the local funds that the local administration of affairs must naturally depend.

The improvement of the condition of the rural population forms the fifth point in Count Andrassy's note. The best means of effecting this will indisputably be by a general amelioration of the condition of the whole population, urban as well as rural, by the realization of practical reforms, and the establishment of such institutions as those which Her Majesty's Government have proposed in the Conference basis.

Count Andrassy suggested the execution of measures in imitation of those which he stated had been taken some years ago in Bulgaria, where the landlords' dues had been bought up by means of the issue of public obligations, and also that it might be possible to make some arrangement for the peasants to acquire on easy terms portions of the waste lands which the State puts up for sale.

The question of the relations between landlord and tenant in these provinces is one of great difficulty, from the peculiar nature of the tenure of land, as the feudal system, which formerly existed in Turkey, and which was not abolished by law until the Tanzimat of 1839, appears to have continued in practice in Bosnia, to a great extent, up to the time when the insurrection of the Begs was suppressed by the Porte in 1850, and the feudal rights of the landlords compounded for by pensions and annuities.

Under this system the land was divided into three classes: (1.) Lands held by those who embraced Islamism (this is the case in Bosnia); (2.) Lands held by those tribes or provinces which had capitulated or submitted to Turkish rule; (3.) Lands taken by arms. The lands held by Mussulmans were subject to "uchur" (dime, or tithe). Those held by others to "kharadj" (tribute). Lands taken by arms were subject to one or the other, as they might be granted for life, or in freehold, to Mussulmans or non-Mussulmans. The "uchur" was a fixed charge, the "kharadj" depended on the will of the Sultan. Both were levied on the produce, and depended on the harvest, &c. The Mussulman landlords undertook the defence of the country, and exercised seigneurial rights, levying fines and taxes on the peasantry, who were attached by prescription to the soil.

From this system a practice has grown up of paying rent, and even taxes, in kind, and no doubt many existing abuses are to be traced to it.

On the 21st of April, 1858, a new law was promulgated, providing that land in Turkey should be classed in five categories:—1. Land "mulk," freehold. 2. Land

"miriié," property of the State. 3. Land "mevqoufé," mosque and charity lands, in mortmain. 4. Land "metrouké," common lands. 5. Land "méyát," waste lands.

The second comprises the lands for which the feudal lord could formerly grant leases. These are now granted by the Government authorities. The fourth consists of the highways and common pasturages, and the fifth of uncultivated mountains and rocky wastes. Any one is allowed to redeem the waste lands, but if cultivated they become liable to a fine upon payment of which a lease is granted.

Your Excellency will obtain full information with regard to the operations of this law, and any improvements required in it, from Mr. Consul Holmes, who has been desired to meet your Excellency at Constantinople. Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to do more than generally indicate, for your Excellency's information, the condition of this very important question of the tenure of land, which can only be dealt with after careful inquiry, and with due consideration for local necessities. Among the abuses which your Excellency will find the subject of complaint is the administration of the Mosque lands, which are granted by a system of "vakouf" to favoured Mussulmans, and often allowed to remain in a neglected state, to the injury of the neighbourhood.

As Her Majesty's Government indicated in their reply to the proposals of Count Andrassy, the points which his Excellency recommended for adoption by the Porte are already covered in principle by the Hatti-Humayoun and other Decrees of the Porte.

Besides these Decrees, which were for universal application to the whole Empire, the Porte has at various times granted special institutions to provinces where the necessity for them has been proved.

On the 10th December, 1832, the Porte, by a note addressed to the Representatives of Great Britain, France, and Russia, accorded certain concessions, including an amnesty, to the people of Samos, on condition of their submitting faithfully to the Ottoman rule. A Council of Notables was to exercise the Government of the island under a Prince of the same religion as the people, no troops were to be kept in the island, and privileges were granted in regard to navigation and port dues. The Samians were to pay an annual tribute of 400,000 piastres to the Porte.

At the Conferences held at Paris in 1860, relative to the armed intervention for the restoration of tranquillity in Syria, it was agreed that there should be a special Règlement for the administration of the Lebanon. This was not finally settled till the 5th September, 1864.

It was provided that the Lebanon should be administered by a Christian Governor named by the Porte, with an Administrative Council composed of twelve members from the different communes, according to their religious distribution, Maronites and Druses, one Mussulman, two orthodox Greeks, and one Catholic Greek.

There were also to be three Tribunals composed in similar proportions; and the Porte decreed the equality of all before the law, and the abolition of all feudal privileges.

In 1867 the Porte issued an Imperial Firman for the reorganization of Crete after the insurrection there. For two years from the 1st March, 1868, the tithe (dime) was remitted entirely, and after that reduced for two years further to one-half.

The Island of Crete was divided into sandjaks, cazas, and communes under a Vali, assisted by an Administrative Council, composed of two Councillors, the Chief Magistrate, the Greek Metropolitan, the Director of the Finances, the Directors of Correspondence, and six other members, three Mussulmans, and three non-Mussulmans, elected by their respective communities. Similar provisions were made for the Councils of the sandjaks, with this provision, that in the sandjaks exclusively Christian the Councils should be composed, under the presidency of the Mutessarifs (Governors), of three officials, the Bishop, and six Christian members elected by the population.

The tribunals of the chief town and of the mixed sandjaks and cazas were to be composed of elective Mussulman and Christian members. In the sandjaks or cazas exclusively Christian the tribunals were to be composed entirely of Christians. There was also to be a general elective Council, composed of two Christian delegates from the Christian cazas, two Mussulman delegates from the Mussulman cazas, and one Mussulman delegate from each mixed caza.

This scheme of administration for Crete has given rise to some dissatisfaction among the Christian population, owing to the manner in which the Porte has exercised its powers of appointing the Kaimakans and the Presidents of the Tribunals, by which a predominance has been given to the Mussulmans, incommensurate with their relative numbers. The Christian officials nominated are said to have been of so low a class as to render the more respectable of the Christian inhabitants unwilling to serve or be associated

with them. Copies of despatches on this subject by Mr. Consul Sandwith are inclosed herewith.[a]

In the basis laid down for the Conference, a distinction has been drawn between the case of Bosnia and the Herzegovina and that of Bulgaria.

The circumstances of the several districts are, indeed, so different as to make it difficult to propose any measures of reform which would in their details be suitable to all alike. In Bosnia the population is reported to be nearly equally divided into Mussulmans and Christians, with a proportion among the latter of Roman Catholics. In the Herzegovina the majority of the population is Christian, but in both provinces the Mussulmans are, and have always been, the ruling race, and, in spite of the events of 1850 and 1858, still hold the greater part of the landed property. As the insurrection in these provinces has led to the existing state of affairs, their pacification is of immediate necessity. At the same time the cruelty with which the attempted rising in the Balkans was suppressed has aroused the indignation of the civilized world, and made it equally imperative that the recurrence of such outrages should be adequately guarded against.

Some confusion has been occasioned by the use of the generic name Bulgaria, in regard to the places where these outrages were committed. Tatar Bazardjik and the majority of the places where these atrocities were committed, are situated in mountainous districts, south of the Balkan range, in the vilayet of Adrianople, in Roumelia. Although there have been disturbances in the Northern Balkans, the vilayet of the Danube, commonly known as Bulgaria, extending from Widdin to the mouth of the river, has remained tranquil.

It was in this province of the Danube that the system of vilayets was first introduced, under the able administration of Midhat Pasha, and care will have to be taken not to disturb unnecessarily institutions which may have proved to be efficiently organized.

It is all the more important to bear this distinction between the vilayets in mind, as the proposals of the Russian Government for the occupation of Bulgaria had in view the intervention of a foreign military force and the suppression of the local Government in the vilayet of the Danube, where such measures have, in reality, been the least called for.

In a despatch addressed to Sir H. Elliot on the 21st of September Her Majesty's Government instructed his Excellency to recommend as a provisional measure, and without prejudice to such future arrangements as may be made in concert with the Powers, that the disturbed districts should be at once placed under an able and energetic Commissioner specially appointed for the purpose, who, if not himself a Christian, should have Christian counsellors in whom trust could be reposed by the Christian population.

Her Majesty's Government have not heard that any steps have been taken to carry this recommendation into effect, but it would have afforded a proof, unfortunately wanting, of the determination of the Porte to act energetically without foreign pressure.

In the absence of any such effort on the part of the Porte to effectually repair the injuries which the apathy and misconduct of the local officials allowed to be inflicted on the Christian population, Her Majesty's Government have felt compelled to consider the means which may be best adapted for ensuring the reform of the administration in the districts affected, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it will probably be found that such measures, in order to be effectual, will have to be extended over the whole vilayet of Adrianople and possibly of the Danube also.

Besides giving the population some control over their own local affairs, the Conference basis provides that there shall be guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina and also against maladministration in Bulgaria.

The whole history of the Ottoman Empire since it was admitted into the European concert, under the engagements of the Treaty of Paris, has proved that the Porte is unable to guarantee the execution of reforms in the Provinces by Turkish officials, who accept them with reluctance, and neglect them with impunity.

It has, therefore, become requisite to aim, in the present crisis of affairs, at an agreement between the Powers and the Porte for the establishment of some system of reforms in the provinces whose administration will come under discussion, which shall combine the elective principle with external guarantees for efficient administration.

Her Majesty's Government do not desire to hamper your Excellency's discretion in the approaching discussions by any detailed plan for such a scheme of reforms, but it may be useful to indicate generally the points in which the existing system of administration in the provinces might be strengthened and improved.

The vilayets might be placed under Valis whose nomination by the Porte should,

[a] Consul Sandwith, No. 13, May 29. Ditto, No. 16, June 5. Ditto, No. 26, August 14.

as a temporary arrangement, be subject to the approval of the Ambassadors of the Guaranteeing Powers, or a majority of them. The office of Vali to be tenable for a period of say seven years, and the Vali irremovable, except on conviction of crime, or proved corruption, or incapacity, and then only with the concurrence of the Ambassadors, or a majority of them.

The Provincial Councils or Medjlisses, whose machinery seems unnecessarily cumbrous, might be supplemented or superseded by General Councils for each vilayet, to be elected by the votes of the population of each Caza: the number of members to be proportioned to the population, and to be divided into Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans in the same ratio. The last Firman has decreed a General Council for the whole Empire, and these General Provincial Councils might be elected by the same suffrage, and meet at the chief town or other locality which may be most convenient and accessible.

The Mutessarifs to be nominated by the Porte, subject for the present to veto by the Ambassadors, or a majority of them, who would be advised by the Consuls. The Mutessarifs to hold office on a similar tenure to the Vali.

The Kaimakams to be selected by the Vali from members of the General Provincial Council, or some other security taken that they should be persons possessing the confidence of the population. In Cazas where the majority are non-Mussulmans, the Kaimakam to be a non-Mussulman, and *vice versâ*.

The law of the Vilayets provided that—

At the chief town of every vilayet a High Court should be established, presided over by the chief Magistrate and composed of six members, three Mussulmans and three non-Mussulmans. This High Court was to deal with all causes on appeal with the exception of suits between Mussulmans on appeal from the Cheri, or between non-Mussulmans on appeal from the special Courts of the non-Mussulman communities.

A High Court of Commerce was to be also established at each chief town.

Each sandjak was to have a Tribunal composed of the Cadi and six members, three Mussulmans and three non-Mussulmans, who are elective. Its jurisdiction to be restricted in the same manner as the Superior Court of the vilayet.

In each Caza there was to be a Court of First Instance, composed, under the presidence of the Cadi, of elective members, three Mussulmans and three non-Mussulmans, with similar restricted jurisdiction.

The Firman of October 12, 1875, introduced considerable alterations in these Provincial Tribunals. The Judges were made elective, the Presidents of the Tribunals were to be chosen from the most capable persons, and the principle of the Judges being irremovable, was recognized with other reforms.

Her Majesty's Government doubt whether the plan of elective Judges, except in the case of the inferior Magistrates, is likely to be beneficial, and consider that it might be well to supplement it by establishing a Central Court at the chief town of the vilayets, the Judges of which should be irremovable and appointed for life, or for a fixed term of years, and should be selected by the Porte, subject, for the present, to the veto of the Ambassadors. Although the Magistrates of the minor Courts might continue to be elective, provision should be made that the Presidents should be Mussulman or non-Mussulman according to the population; and that neither the Judges of the Central Court nor the Presidents of the minor Courts should be selected except from persons possessing adequate judicial experience and legal training.

At the same time the jurisdiction over landed property should be removed from the Mussulman Courts, in cases in which non-Mussulmans are exclusively concerned, to non-Mussulman Courts; and in mixed cases to Mixed Courts, subject in both instances to appeal to the Central Provincial Court. The Codes of Law should also be translated and published in the local languages.

If, moreover, a higher Court of Appeal could be constituted at Constantinople, in which the Porte would consent to employ a proportion of foreign Judges, the benefit to the whole Empire would presumably be great, and the means be provided for training Turkish officials for employment in the provinces.

By the Hatti-Humayoun all the subjects of the Empire, without distinction, were to be received into the civil and military schools of the Government, if they otherwise satisfied the conditions as to age and examination which were specified in the Organic Regulations of the schools. Moreover, every community was authorized to establish public schools of Science, Art and Industry. Only the method of instruction and the choice of Professors in schools of this class were to be under the control of a Mixed Council of Public Instruction, the members of which were to be named by the Porte.

It is doubtful how far these provisions have been carried into actual execution, and the establishment of efficient schools for the Christian population would properly be

included in the matters to be considered in regulating the reforms required in the provinces.

Among the causes of disaffection in the provinces none has been more general than the arbitrary misconduct of the Mussulman zaptiehs or police, and it will be probably proved indispensable that a proportion of Christians should be employed for the future both as officers and men. The local police service may also require re-organization in other respects, as contemplated in the Hatti-Houmayoun, in addition to the reforms promised in the Instructions of Server Pasha of October 6, 1875. The chief officers should be made permanent, and their appointment subjected to some form of guarantee for their efficiency.

The Hatti-Humayoun likewise provided that the equality of taxes entails equality of burdens, as equality of duties entails that of rights. Christian subjects, it is stated, and those of other non-Mussulman sects, should, as well as Mussulman, be subject to the obligations of the Law of Recruitment. The principle of obtaining substitutes, or of purchasing exemption, was to be admitted, and a complete law was to be published, with as little delay as possible, respecting the admission into and service in the army of Christian and other non-Mussulman subjects.

An attempt was made to carry out this provision, but it was abandoned, and the capitation tax on Christians substituted. This has recently been made less onerous, but the opinion has generally been expressed by Sir H. Elliot and others that no real equality can be secured between the Mussulmans and Christians so long as the latter are excluded from bearing arms in the military service of the country.

The reasons of the Porte for feeling suspicious of non-Mussulman soldiers and police can easily be understood, as well as the reluctance of the Christians, in many cases, to be included in the conscription; but, nevertheless, it would be very desirable that some arrangement should be arrived at for constituting a system for the enrolment of non-Mussulmans in the army or local militia, either in separate regiments or battalions, or in some other way which should preserve them from being marked out for ill-usage by their Mussulman comrades, and should admit of non-Mussulman officers attaining due rank and distinction in the service. The Mussulmans should be at the same time subjected to the same prohibitions in respect of carrying arms as are now imposed on the Christians.

The question of local taxation has already been referred to. In order to secure the control of the local finances a provincial Treasury might be established at the principal towns of the vilayets, into which the taxes and local rates should be paid. The 16th Article of the Règlement for the Lebanon provides that the cost of administration and expenses of public utility shall be a first charge on the taxation of that district, and a similar regulation might be made for these provinces. The Provincial General Councils, or Assemblies, might have the right of voting the local taxes, subject to the concurrence of the Vali, or Governor, in such a way that, after the balance of Imperial taxes had been paid over, the province should be financially independent of the Constantinople Ministry of Finance.

Her Majesty's Government have not endeavoured to offer more than the outline of a system of local self-government, in which they have aimed at the establishment of provincial administration under Governors whose ability and integrity would be vouched for by the guarantee of a diplomatic veto, acting with provincial elective assemblies having control over the local taxation, with permanent judges and other higher officials appointed under a similar guarantee, and with a reformed system of local militia and police, the removal of any remaining Christian disabilities, the improvement of the land laws, and the amelioration of the condition of the whole agricultural population.

Her Majesty's Government believe that if some such system of local self-government could be established, it would form the best guarantee for the well-being of these provinces, and open the way to the general adoption of reformed and constitutional Government throughout the Turkish Empire.

Having thus stated the nature of the guarantees which Her Majesty's Government consider may fairly be demanded of the Porte, it remains for me to state explicitly that Her Majesty's Government cannot countenance the introduction into the Conference of proposals, however plausible or well-intentioned, which would bring foreign armies into Turkish territory in violation of the engagements by which the Guaranteeing Powers are solemnly bound.

In authorizing your Excellency to declare this determination on the part of Her Majesty's Government at the Conference, should occasion require it, they desire at the same time that it should be understood by the Porte that Great Britain is resolved not to sanction misgovernment and oppression, and that if the Porte by obstinacy or

apathy opposes the efforts which are now making to place the Ottoman Empire on a more secure basis, the responsibility of the consequences which may ensue will rest solely with the Sultan and his advisers.

The Queen relies upon this country being represented by your Excellency and Sir H. Elliot in the Conference with discretion, judgment, and firmness, and trusts that the result of its deliberations may be to secure the welfare of the population of Turkey and the preservation of the peace of Europe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 2.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 2.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot,* requesting him to consider the instructions with which your Excellency has been furnished as equally addressed to himself, and explaining that the scheme of local self-government for the Turkish provinces concerned therein indicated is to be taken only as an outline, and subject to such alterations and amendments as may be suggested for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 3.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 3.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that the Queen has been pleased to signify her commands that Mr. Philip Currie, of this Office, should be appointed Secretary to your Excellency's Special Embassy, and that Mr. H. S. Northcote, Mr. H. A. Lee, and Mr. J. H. C. Hozier, of this Office, should be officially attached to your Excellency in your character of Special Ambassador. Your Excellency will accordingly consider these gentlemen as forming part of your Diplomatic Establishment, and you will employ them in the business of the Embassy in whatever way you may deem most beneficial for Her Majesty's service.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 4.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 4.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that the travelling and other expenses of your Excellency's Embassy will be paid by the public, and that Mr. Currie has been instructed to keep and render the accounts in accordance with the usual forms.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* No. 2.

No. 5.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 5.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Mr. Marwood Tucker has been appointed additional Private Secretary to your Excellency in your character of Special Ambassador about to proceed to Constantinople. Mr. Tucker will be considered as attached to the Embassy, but he will receive no remuneration, and his expenses will not be paid by the public.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 6.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

I HAVE to request your Excellency to correspond with this office, while employed on the service of your Special Embassy, in a series of despatches, numbered and docketed, and addressed to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 7.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 7.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Sir H. Elliot was instructed on the 9th instant to inform Mr. Consul Holmes and Mr. Consul Blunt, and any other Consuls of experience whom it may be desirable to consult, that they would probably be required to meet your Excellency at Constantinople. Definite instructions will now be sent to that effect.

Mr. White, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Belgrade, will also be instructed to proceed to Constantinople, in order that your Excellency and Sir H. Elliot may have the benefit of consulting him on the state of the Slavonic Provinces, of which he has made a special study.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 8.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 8. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 20, 1876.

IN my despatch No. 1 of this day's date I have transmitted to your Excellency a letter which the Queen has addressed to the Sultan, accrediting you in the character of Her Majesty's Special Ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

Your Excellency will use your own discretion as to presenting this letter or not.

A copy of your credential will be inclosed with the original; and should your Excellency demand an audience for the purpose of presenting the latter to the Sultan, the copy should be sent to the Turkish Government for their information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 9.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 772.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.*

I INFORMED your Excellency in my despatch No. 736 of the 8th instant, that the Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint the Marquis of Salisbury, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, to represent Her Majesty, conjointly with your Excellency, at the proposed Conference.

I now inclose a copy of the instructions which, by the Queen's command, I have had the honour to address to the Marquis of Salisbury,* and it is the desire of Her Majesty and of the Cabinet that your Excellency should consider these instructions equally addressed to yourself.

At the same time Her Majesty's Government wish it to be understood that the scheme for the local self-government of the Turkish Provinces concerned which is indicated in outline in those instructions is not to be taken as a plan to be rigidly proposed to the Conference or absolutely adhered to in it. They will be prepared to receive with the sincerest anxiety to arrive at a general agreement any other proposals which may be advanced by the Representatives of the Governments of the other Treaty Powers.

It is not improbable that many important variations of the project may be found necessary to insure its practical operation, and that some plan may present itself for insuring the appointment of able, energetic, and trustworthy Administrators preferable to that of a diplomatic veto. An International Commission for instance, somewhat similar to that which was employed in the affairs of the Lebanon, might be named to work out the details of a scheme of which the general principles might be laid down in the Conference, and the duty of securing the appointment of proper Local Authorities subsequently entrusted to it.

Her Majesty's Government do not seek to impose any particular scheme of their own on the Porte or the Conference. Their only object is to effect a practical settlement, and secure for the population of the provinces institutions which shall give them an adequate control over their local affairs, and provide guarantees against mal-administration.

Any plan which will effect this purpose will receive the ready assent of Her Majesty's Government, and they are confident that your Excellency will use your best efforts to assist the Marquis of Salisbury in attaining it, and bringing the deliberations of the Conference to a satisfactory issue.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 10.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 775.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.*

YOUR telegraphic despatch stating that the Porte had agreed, after the assembling of a Crown Council on the 18th instant, to the proposed Conference having been received, the Marquis of Salisbury left England this morning, with the members of the Special Embassy, to proceed to Constantinople.

As your Excellency is already aware, the proposals made by Her Majesty's Government on the 4th instant have already been accepted by the Governments of the other Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* No. 1.

No. 11.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 976, Confidential.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 20, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, for your information, copies of despatches* which have been addressed by Her Majesty's Government to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot, containing Her Majesty's instructions for their guidance in the approaching Conference at Constantinople on the Eastern question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 12.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pesth, November 20, 1876.*

I LEARN from Count Andrassy that he will go to Vienna to-morrow and await the arrival of Lord Salisbury there.

No. 13.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 20, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pesth, November 20, 1876.*

THE Austrian Agent at Belgrade has not been called here, as supposed by Mr. White. He asked leave for a month, and having been only granted a week has not availed himself of it.

No. 14.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 20, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pesth, November 20, 1876.*

A SECOND Austrian Plenipotentiary will be appointed to the Conference, but as Count Andrassy wishes to select Austrian Agent at Bucharest, whom he considers specially qualified for the duty, he can only give him the rank of a Minister Plenipotentiary.

No. 15.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 20, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, November 20, 1876, 3 P.M.*

GERMAN Military Agent here told Colonel Wellesley this morning that Emperor of Russia stated to him yesterday that he had no knowledge of Lord Beaconsfield's speech when he addressed deputations at Moscow.

No. 16.

Consul-General Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 1.)

My Lord, *Tiflis, November 8, 1876.*

IT would appear that the Russian Army on the Turkish frontier are distributed as follows: 9,000 men at Akhalzikh, 30,000 at Alexandropol, and a few Cossacks at Erivan. This information comes from two different sources. The winter having set in at Alexandropol and there being no proper accomodation for the army there, it is

* Nos. 1, 2, and 9.

doubtful if they will be able to remain there. I am told that the army of the Caucasus does not exceed 120,000 men at present; if this be the case, it would be difficult to increase the army on the frontier, and might not the inhabitants rise if the garrisons were withdrawn? I will make futher inquiry into all these matters. The assassins of the Consul have not been discovered. It is said that that the Turkish Secretary is implicated. I have questioned him and think that he is innocent. Some rings were taken from the person of the unfortunate lady, but nothing very mysterious.

I have, &c.

Signed) T. T. RICKETTS.

No. 17.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 522.)

My Lord, *Yalta, November 5, 1876.*

I HAD the honour to be invited with the German Ambassador General von Schweinitz to the Imperial table at Livadia to-day.

The Emperor expressed to me the satisfaction with which he had read my despatch to your Lordship, which I left in the hands of Prince Gortchakow, reporting what had passed at my audience of His Majesty, observing that I had reported with great exactness the opinions he had expressed, and added that I had even reported them in the very words used by His Majesty.

His Majesty is thanking me for having been the truthful exponent of his feelings and intentions, expressed his gratification that they had been received by Her Majesty's Government with the greatest satisfaction, which I had communicated to this morning to Prince Gortchakow in conformity with the instructions of your Lordship's telegram of the 4th instant.

Previous to going to Livadia to dinner, I had immediately on their receipt communicated to Prince Gortchakow, as contained in the annexed memorandum, your Lordship's proposals and basis for a Conference. They had been submitted to the Emperor who expressed to me this evening his approval of them, except in regard to the employment of one word.

His Majesty expressed a wish that the term "teritorial" preceding the phrase "integrity of the Ottoman Empire" should be omitted, and that the wording of Article I should be simply "the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

His Majesty observed, that a strict interpretation of the term "territorial" integrity might prevent, if circumstances should render it necessary, any provisional occupation of Turkish territory, whereas by its omission the "integrity" of the Ottoman Empire was equally safe-guarded.

If this engagement of the Powers with the Porte bound them to respect the "territorial" integrity of the Ottoman Empire, it might later preclude any trifling territorial concession being made by the Porte to Montenegro.

The Emperor then expressed to me his regret on learning the intended departure of the French Ambassador at Constantinople, as his absence would cause a delay of at least fifteen days' before the preliminaries could be discussed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Substance of Telegram received November 5, communicated to Prince Gortchakow.

IT appearing to Her Majesty's Government that there is some hesitation about a formal proposal of Conference, they have determined to make such a proposal to the Powers.

You are, therefore, to propose to the Imperial Government that a Conference should be held forthwith at Constantinople, in which all the Guaranteeing Powers and the Porte shall take part, and each Government may have two Representatives.

Her Majesty's Government propose the following bases for the deliberations of Conference;

1. The independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

2. A declaration that the Powers do not seek for territorial advantages, exclusive influence, or commercial concessions, as in the Protocols of September 17, 1840, and of August 3, 1860.

3. The terms proposed to the Porte by Sir H. Elliot, in accordance with the Earl of Derby's instructions of September 21st last.

Should the Powers consent to this proposal of Her Majesty's Government, a Special Ambassador will be at once appointed with orders to go to Constantinople to take part in the proposed Conference.

Her Majesty's Government would not object if desired by the other Powers that their two Plenipotentiaries should join in the preliminaries, before the opening of the Conference, with the Plenipotentiaries of the other Powers. The same bases proposed for the Conference to be observed in the preliminary discussions.

No. 18.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 524.)

My Lord, *Yalta, November 6, 1876.*

I HAD an interview with Prince Gortchakow this morning, in order to learn the opinions and views of the Imperial Government in regard to your Lordship's proposals and bases for a Conference at Constantinople, which, as reported in my despatch No. 522 of yesterday's date, I had communicated to his Highness yesterday evening.

His Highness stated that he agreed to those proposals with one single exception, namely, the term "territorial" preceding the phrase "integrity of the Ottoman Empire," in Article I.

His Highness stated that the Imperial Government could not accept that term, as it would exclude the possibility of a provisional occupation, which, in the interest of the Ottoman Empire itself, he considers will still be necessary for the security of the Christian population, and for the maintenance of peace and order during the introduction of the administrative reforms.

His Highness stated that there was still great agitation in Bulgaria as well as in Bosnia, and that excesses, with loss of life, were still being perpetrated, and that nothing but material force would restore peace and tranquillity.

There was no question of disturbing the integrity of the Empire. He stated most positively that Russia did not covet an inch of Turkish territory. If an occupation became necessary, it would be provisional, and would only continue until the present excited feelings were calmed down, and the administration placed on a regular and peaceable footing.

His Highness cited the precedent of Syria, to which the Protocol in 1860, mentioned in your Lordship's proposal, referred. He should be perfectly willing that Russia should be the "mandataire" of Europe, as were England and France in Syria, nor should he object to any other Power participating in an occupation. He foresees an occupation as an inevitable necessity, without which peace and order will never be restored, nor the contemplated reforms introduced.

In regard to the third point, viz., the terms proposed in your Lordship's instructions to Sir Henry Elliot of September 21, Prince Gortchakow stated that, in accepting them as a basis, he must say that, on the question of autonomy, his views were more expansive than those of Her Majesty's Government. This was, however, a question which would form matter for deliberation in the Conference.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 19.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 526. Very Confidential.)

My Lord, *Yalta, November 6, 1876.*

IT may be of interest to your Lordship to know that the Emperor of Russia told me yesterday in conversation that he had received a telegram from General Tchernaieff

commanding the Servian army, requesting permission to wait on His Majesty at Livadia; with what object His Majesty did not state, and possibly may not have known.

The Emperor stated that he had declined to receive him.

I am told from what I consider a reliable source that the Sultan is alarmed and feels himself powerless in regard to the fanatic influences by which he is surrounded, and that he is turning to Russia for protection and support.

It has been reported to me that the Grand Vizier and the Minister for Foreign Affairs had expressed a wish to come to Livadia for the purpose of asking the Emperor to save the Ottoman Empire; but that this request was declined by His Majesty.

I also learn from an undoubted source that at the private audience of General Ignatiew, the Sultan had exposed to the Ambassador the difficulties of his position, had expressed a desire to conform to the wishes of the Emperor, and had asked the Ambassador to support him against his Ministers.

I cannot vouch for the entire authenticity of this information, it may be somewhat exaggerated; but I have reason to believe that, if driven to the last extremity, the Sultan may be induced to throw himself into the arms of Russia, as the only means left to him of saving his throne and the Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 20.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 533.) *St. Petersburgh, November 15, 1876.*

My Lord,

THE Emperor held a review of the Imperial Guards and of the adjacent garrisons this morning in the Champ de Mars.

On the termination of it, His Majesty addressed the Grand Duke Nicolas Nicolaievich, his staff, and the officer of his guard.

His Majesty in referring to the mobilization of a portion of his army, expressed a hope that it would not be necessary to mobilize his guards. He expressed his thanks to the Grand Duke Nicolas for the efficient state of the guards, and announced the appointment of His Imperial Highness to command the active army, adding that His Imperial Highness carried with him the best wishes of all for his success.

The Emperor was received by the troops and a vast concourse of spectators who were present at the review, with great enthusiasm.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 21.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 534.) *St. Petersburgh, November 15, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAD an interview to-day with Prince Gortchakow, when, in conformity with your Lordship's instructions, I placed in the hands of his Highness a copy of your Lordship's despatch No. 551 of the 30th ultimo.

I explained to his Highness the cause of the delay in communicating this despatch to the Imperial Government, the messenger who had been the bearer of it having only arrived in the Crimea after my departure.

Prince Gortchakow said that your Lordship had excused to Count Schouvaloff the publication of this despatch previous to its delivery, the motive for which his Highness perfectly understood, adding, that he had likewise deemed it desirable to publish the text of the Circulars announcing the mobilization, before its official communication to the several Governments.

In regard to that Circular, his Highness observed that the mobilization did not imply war, and he expressed the sincere desire of the Imperial Government to maintain European concert.

He dwelt on the necessity imposed on the Imperial Government in conformity with the public opinion of the country to put an end to the delays by which the Porte

had hitherto obstructed all attempts for pacification, and observed that Russia could no longer passively permit the continuance of the excesses which were being perpetrated. "We can no longer allow, said his Highness, the Christian population to be slaughtered, and women and children exposed to barbarous atrocities, such as have been, and are even now being committed by the Turks.

"It is not a political question, it is one of humanity, which equally regards all Europe. We must insist on such reforms as will ensure the safety of the Christian population and on an efficient guarantee for their execution. In this we cannot yield:—'Nous ne fléchirons pas.'"

I enquired of his Highness whether any communications had passed with the Austrian Cabinet on the subject of the mobilization, and in what light it had been viewed at Vienna. His Highness gave no direct answer to this question, merely observing, that he was "en pourparlers" with Austria, and he was expecting a messenger from Vienna.

His Highness read me a telegram dated the 14th instant from General Ignatieff, stating that the Porte was awaiting an answer from Musurus Pasha in London before acceding to the Conference, and in consequence of your Lordship's insistance the Porte would probably accept the Conference.

Mention was also made by General Ignatieff of the position taken up by a portion of the Turkish fleet at the entrance of the Bosphorus, and of the arrival of several English Engineer officers at Constantinople, which latter intelligence Prince Gortchakow considered as of bad omen, and as likely to encourage the Porte in their policy of resistance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 22.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 535.) *St. Petersburgh, November 15, 1876.*

My Lord,

ON visiting Prince Gortchakow this morning, at Czarskoe, I found his Highness rather disturbed in mind by the speech of the Earl of Beaconsfield at the Lord Mayor's banquet, which his Highness feared would have a bad effect at Constantinople, and would encourage the Porte in a policy of resistance to the counsels of Europe.

I observed to his Highness that the Prime Minister had in his speech especially referred to the respect of Treaties, and I reminded his Highness that in our conversation at Orianda, his Highness referred to the same subject, and very much in the same language, observing to me that he alone, on the occasion of the dissolution of the German Confederation, had remonstrated against the destruction of a political body created and guaranteed by an European Treaty.

Prince Gortchakow replied that England had raised no objection in regard to an infraction of Treaties during the political changes in Italy and Germany; on the contrary, had not only accepted, but approved them.

In regard to the Treaty of 1856, his Highness observed that engagements were then taken by Turkey, in regard to the Christian populations, which had never been fulfilled, and that consequently it was Turkey who had essentially violated the Treaty. During the twenty years which had intervened he had twice called the attention of Europe to the position of the Christians under Mussulman rule, but with no result. His Highness maintained that by the Treaty of 1856 Christian Europe was bound to exact from the Porte a due observance of the engagements it had taken. Russia desired to act with Europe in obtaining this result, but she was determined to put an end to the oppression to which the Christian populations in the East were exposed under Turkish rule.

I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith a leading article from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg," which has evidently emanated from an official source.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 23.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 536.)
St. Petersburgh, November 15, 1876.

My Lord,

AT my interview to-day with Prince Gortchakow, I profited by the opportunity to mention the report of a projected Russian expedition to Merv.

His Highness denied at once that any such intention existed, and authorized me to inform your Lordship that there was no question of an expedition against Merv, nor any idea of occupying Merv.

Prince Gortchakow said that some of the Tekké Turkomans had plundered some "Aouls" of another Turkoman tribe under Russian protectorate, and that a detachment of troops had been sent to their protection, as also to keep open the communication between Krasnovodsk and Khiva.

His Highness observed that there were indications of the Afghans undertaking an expedition against the Tekké Turkomans and Merv, but his Highness did not appear to be acquainted with any details on the subject.

I further mentioned to his Highness the communication which General Kaufmann was carrying on directly with the Ameer of Afghanistan through a secret agent who had arrived some time ago at Cabul and was still residing there; and I observed to him that these communications were not in conformity with the engagement taken by Russia, as recorded by his Highness himself when he declared that Russia considered Afghanistan to be beyond the sphere of her political action.

Prince Gortchakow replied that there was no Russian agent at Cabul as far as he knew, and that General Kaufmann had merely forwarded a complimentary letter to the Ameer, as he was in the habit of doing on returning to his post.

"But," added his Highness, "quand nous avons un main une baleine, je ne puis pas m'occuper des petits poissons."

His Highness, however, charged me to inform your Lordship that the reported expedition against Merv was without any foundation.

Before reverting to the subject of General Kaufmann's communications with the Ameer of Afghanistan and the presence of a Russian agent at Cabul, I shall request M. de Giers to give me an answer in writing to the note which I addressed to his Excellency on that subject on the 12th October, a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch No. 483 of the 13th October.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 24.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(No. 538.)
St. Petersburgh, November 17, 1876.

My Lord,

I ONLY received your Lordship's despatch No. 564 of the 4th instant, containing the formal invitation of Her Majesty's Government to a Conference to be held at Constantinople, and submitting the bases for the deliberation of the Conference after leaving the Crimea.

On receipt of your Lordship's telegram at Yalta, I placed in the hands of Prince Gortchakow a Memorandum of the proposals of Her Majesty's Government which have been since agreed to by the Imperial Government.

I thought it, however, desirable to record in an official form the proposals as contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 504, and I, accordingly, on my return here addressed an official note to Prince Gortchakhow, embodying the proposals of Her Majesty's Government, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy to your Lordship. I have explained to the Chancellor my reason for doing so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Lord A. Loftus to Prince Gortchakow.

St. Petersburgh, November 14, 1876.

Mon Prince,

WITH reference to the Memorandum which I had the honour to place in the hands of your Highness at Orianda on the 5th instant, stating the terms on which I was instructed by telegraph to propose to the Imperial Government that a Conference should be held at Constantinople, I think it advisable to record those terms in an official note, as also the points which Her Majesty's Government submitted as the bases for the deliberations of the Conference.

Her Majesty's Government believe, from the communication which they have received from the Powers, that there is a general feeling that the only solution of the questions arising out of recent events in Turkey, is to be found in a Conference, but that there is some hesitation felt in formally proposing it.

Under these circumstances, and with a view of bringing about a satisfactory settlement of those questions, Her Majesty's Government have determined to renew the suggestion made by them on the 5th ultimo, and to take the initiative in proposing that a Conference should be held forthwith at Constantinople, in which all the Guaranteeing Powers and the Porte should take part, and each Government should be at liberty to appoint two Plenipotentiaries to represent it.

Her Majesty's Government further submit, as the bases for the deliberations of the Conference:—

1. The independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

2. A declaration that the Powers do not intend to seek for, and will not seek for, any territorial advantages, any exclusive influence, or any concession with regard to the commerce of their subjects which those of every other nation may not equally obtain.

This declaration was made on the 17th September, 1840, in the Protocol for the Pacification of the Levant; and again, August 3rd, 1860, in regard to the Pacification of Syria.

3. The bases of pacification proposed to the Porte on the 21st of September, viz.:—

(*a.*) The *status quo*, speaking roughly, both as regards Servia and Montenegro.

(*b.*) That the Porte should simultaneously undertake, in a Protocol to be signed at Constantinople with the Representatives of the Mediating Powers, to grant to Bosnia and Herzegovina a system of local or administrative autonomy, by which is to be understood a system of local institutions which shall give the population some control over their own local affairs, and guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary authority. There is to be no question of the creation of a tributary State.

Guarantees of a similar kind to be also provided against maladministration in Bulgaria.

The reforms already agreed to by the Porte, in the note addressed to the Representatives of the Powers, on the 13th of February last, to be included in the administrative arrangements for Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and so far as they may be applicable for Bulgaria.

Her Majesty's Government have also desired that in proposing to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia a Conference on these bases, I should state that if this proposal meets with general acceptance, Her Majesty's Government will lose no time in appointing a special Ambassador to proceed to Constantinople to take part in the Conference.

If the other Powers thought it advisable Her Majesty's Government would not object to their Plenipotentiaries joining in preliminary discussions with the Plenipotentiaries of the other five Guaranteeing Powers before the opening of the Conference. These discussions to be on the same bases as those proposed for the Conference.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 25.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 21.)

(No. 543.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November* 17, 1876.

I HAD an interview to-day with M. de Giers, who is the Director of the Asiatic Department in the Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

I requested his Excellency to give me a written reply to my note in regard to the communication of General Kaufmann with the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the prolonged presence at Cabul of a Russian Agent.

His Excellency demurred somewhat in giving a written answer; but I maintained my request for a reply in writing, which his Excellency promised that I should receive.

I then said to his Excellency, that it was of essential importance that no question of difficulty should arise between the two Governments in regard to Central Asia; and I reminded him that, on a previous occasion in 1874, the Emperor had specially charged me if there should be any question of difficulty in regard to Central Asia to refer to him directly. Consequently, if I found that the Imperial authorities at a distance from the central authority were acting on their own responsibility in opposition to the engagements entered into between the two Governments, I should immediately ask for an audience of the Emperor in obedience to his orders and submit the question to His Majesty.

M. de Giers then stated that there was no question of General Kaufmann entering into political communication with the Ameer of Afghanistan, nor was there the remotest idea of any Treaty engagements. The Agent was simply charged to deliver a letter of courtesy from General Kaufmann to the Ameer, which was an usual custom on his resuming the duties of his post, and as the Governor-General of a neighbouring State.

To this, I replied, that he was not the Governor of a neighbouring State, inasmuch as the Khanat of Bokhara was still to be regarded as an independent State, and that I therefore considered it necessary that General Kaufmann should receive express orders from the Imperial Government to desist in future from sending Agents to Cabul, and from entertaining political communication with the Ameer of Afghanistan.

M. de Giers then informed me that the Imperial Government had received information both from General Kaufmann, and through the Imperial Minister at Teheran, that the Afghan Government were making great military preparations. He stated that 10,000 men were assembled at Herat with 1,600 cavalry, all well armed and equipped, that they were being constantly drilled and exercised, and that a cannon foundry was established at Herat capable of producing one cannon per day. From the information the Imperial Government had received, this armament was destined for an expedition against the Turcomans and against Merv.

It would appear from the report of General Kaufmann, that he was somewhat disturbed in mind by this reported expedition.

General Kaufmann in his report referred also to certain incursions beyond their frontier which the Afghan troops were undertaking in the direction of Zaraifshan and Karateguin, and he referred to them as likely to produce a disturbance of the relations between Bokhara and Afghanistan.

On my inquiry his Excellency further informed me that in consequence of a disagreement between the Turcomans and the Khan of Khiva, the latter had expressed a wish to renounce his rights of Government in favour of Russia; but that General Kaufmann had opposed this wish and was now acting as the arbitrator between the Khan and his subjects.

His Excellency stated that the Imperial Government desired anxiously that no change in the *status quo* should take place, and that peace and order should reign in Central Asia.

In giving me this communication his Excellency referred to the original correspondence of General Kaufmann, and I suggested to him that he should forward that correspondence to Count Schouvaloff for communication to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 26.

Major-General Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.—(*Received at the Foreign Office, November* 21.)

(No. 37.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November* 17, 1876.

I HAVE been struck lately by the warlike tone of the majority of Russian officers.

This feeling shows itself not only among the younger ranks, but just as strongly among officers, whose standing gives them weight in the country.

The prevailing idea appears to be that a war with Turkey is inevitable, and the Russians underrate the difficulties which they would incur in an invasion of Turkey, even were the latter Power to fight single-handed.

They talk openly of dictating terms of peace at Constantinople, and it would appear that the Emperor, carried away by the enthusiasm with which he has been greeted both at Moscow and here, is not doing his best to calm this military excitement.

His speech at the review of last Wednesday, the gist of which I reported to your Lordship, was calculated to increase rather than to allay the hopes of the war party, and when His Majesty wished success to the Grand Duke Nicolas and the army His Imperial Highness has been appointed to command, the hundreds of officers whom the Emperor was addressing took off their helmets and cheered with the utmost enthusiasm.

In my humble opinion, this apparent change in the Emperor's ideas is a sign of great danger for the future, for if His Majesty, notwithstanding his well-known peaceful inclinations, and notwithstanding his power, has been forced by the will of his people to set a portion of his armies on foot, it is difficult to foresee how far he will be able to restrain the troops when mobilized.

It is easy to deny all idea of annexation, and I believe that the Emperor himself is sincere in his protestations to that effect, but should the Russians be able to dictate terms of peace after a successful campaign, it would not be easy to withdraw their conquering army without showing them some material result of their victory, and more especially if the sovereign has been forced to declare war, against his will, by the religious fanaticism of his country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY, *Military Attaché.*

No. 27.

Count Schouvaloff to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 21.)

Mon cher Comte, *Londres, le* 18 *Novembre*, 1876.

DES dépêches télégraphiques reçues de Pétersbourg depuis notre entrevue m'engagent à réitérer ma demande de faire publier le compte rendu de Lord Loftus.

Le Prince Gortchakow le demande encore une fois comme la preuve de vos bonnes dispositions à notre égard et de votre impartialité.

J'ai prévenu le Prince que pour le cas de la publication, elle serait accompagnée de celle d'autres documents ayant rapport au séjour de votre Ambassadeur à Livadia.

Excusez-moi de vous troubler dans le court repos que vous prenez, mais je voudrais prévenir à temps une décision contraire de votre part.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) SCHOUVALOFF.

No. 28.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(*Received November* 21, 1·17 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November* 20, 1876, 5·45 P.M.

COUNT SCHOUVALOFF will receive a despatch for communication to your Lordship, in reply to that of October 30, of which following is *précis*:—

[a] Repeated to Embassies.

Prince Gortchakow places on record efforts of Imperial Cabinet for preservation of peace, throwing on England responsibility of arresting united action of Powers by refusing Berlin Memorandum. He hails with satisfaction your desire for mutual understanding, and promises support of Russia in Conference for attainment of a pacific solution.

Both Governments are agreed as to necessity of terminating deplorable state of affairs in Turkey, of securing efficacious amelioration of condition of Christians by serious practical measures, and of the necessity of guarantees for their execution.

Divergence exists as to means for attaining this aim. Her Majesty's Government seek to reconcile it with Treaty stipulations of 1856, which have continually paralyzed European action, and allowed Turkey to perpetuate with impunity a system ruinous to Christians and disastrous to European peace. He cites as successful instances of departure from these stipulations, Syrian intervention, United Principalities, Servia, Candia; and reminds that Russia for twenty years warned Europe of the consequences.

Facts have now irrefutably proved the evil to be incurable; if the Powers desire serious result, they must agree that the independence and integrity of Turkey should be subordinated to the guarantees demanded by humanity, Christian Europe, and interests of peace.

Porte having first violated Treaty engagements of 1856, Europe has the right and duty to dictate sole conditions on which it will maintain political *status quo* of Treaty, and to substitute its own action for Porte's incapacity. Russia cannot agree to half measures, such as have reacted on Russian internal tranquillity and prosperity. She considers question one of general interest, and earnestly seeks European concert for its pacific solution; she has no exclusive interests, and has given the most solemn assurances to this effect; and Prince suggested publication of my report of my conversation with Emperor.

He ends by expressing hope for common agreement of the two Governments to prevent bases of pacification remaining as hitherto a dead letter, and a constant peril to relations of two countries, as well as to European peace.

No. 29.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Most Confidential.) *Vienna, November 20, 1876.*

THE version received by Count Andrassy of the eleven proposals expected from General Ignatiew varies in some respects from that in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, but is essentially the same.

He declined expressing an opinion upon them before they have been made (? public), unless I would consider it strictly confidential, and engage that it should not be sent to Lord A. Loftus.

He then said that a snake (?) may be found in each proposal. The first could only be accomplished by an occupation of provinces.

The second proposed a system of appointing functionaries which Russia would not adopt herself, and which is not general for all functionaries in other countries.

He made no observation on the third.

With regard to the fourth he seemed to think it would be unreasonable to impose on the Porte the difficult task of removing 500,000 Circassians into Asia.

He said that he had objected to the fifth at Berlin, as the Porte should merely be asked to quarter its troops, so as to avoid collisions with the Christians.

The sixth was probably taken from the note of December, and he would not object to its principle if fairly carried.

The seventh would not only occasion inconvenience (? to) central Government, but each population in a province of mixed races would object to language of others being employed.

With respect to the eighth, he said that if Christian Governors are to be natives of the provinces qualified persons could not be found.

He does not understand how the ninth is to be carried, nor how the wishes, opinions, or requirements of the populations are to be ascertained, and who is to be responsible for them.

He considers the direct control proposed by No. 10, if it extends beyond Consuls

or Commissioners reporting to their Governments, incompatible with the independence and sovereignty of the Sultan.

He said that the object of General Ignatiew will be to arrange for the Slav being the dominant element in the mixed populations in the whole country between the Danube and the Mediterranean, and that, in his opinion, England and Austria should rather promote the interests and influence of Greeks.

No. 30.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, November 21, 1876.*

THE Emperor desires me to inform Lord Salisbury that he will receive his Lordship on Thursday at 1 o'clock. Prince Bismarck will be at Lord Salisbury's disposal on Wednesday evening if convenient to his Lordship.

I have repeated telegram to Paris.

No. 31.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November 21, 1876.*

MAY not the despatch of the Russian Mediterranean Squadron to America, reported by Lord A. Loftus, be with a view not only to its safety but to oblige England in the event of war with Russia to send a naval force across the Atlantic to watch it?

No. 32.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21, 3 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November 21, 1876, noon.*

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW'S despatch, of which I sent your Lordship *précis* yesterday, has been published *in extenso* in "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of this morning, as also private letter addressed to Russian Ambassador in London of the 3rd instant.

No. 33.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 777.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 21, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a Full Power, which the Queen has been graciously pleased to grant to you under the Great Seal.

Your Excellency is included in the Full Power which has been furnished to the Marquis of Salisbury, and the object of this separate Full Power is to enable you to take part in the Conference alone in the event of Lord Salisbury being obliged to leave Constantinople.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 34.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 602.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 21, 1876.*

THE Russian Ambassador has called upon me, and said that he is instructed by his Government to request that the report of your Excellency's conversation at

Livadia with His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia should be made public, as it contained assurances which were of a nature to tranquillise public feeling.

I informed his Excellency in reply that, although the production of documents of this kind relating to a negotiation actually in progress was not customary in this country, I could not, under the circumstances, hesitate to make an exception, and the despatch in question should appear without delay. I thought its publication might be opportune, since the last few days had brought us the intelligence of the mobilisation of a considerable Russian force, and of the emission of the new Russian loan for 100,000,000 roubles.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 35.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21, night.)

Paris, November 21, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

IT strikes me that as Lord Salisbury goes to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, the Italian Government will feel hurt if he does not also visit Rome. Any offence taken by them might influence conduct of their Representative in the Conference; and they are extremely sensitive as to Italians being treated as a great Power.

I have mentioned this to Lord Salisbury. He desires to be entirely guided with regard to it by instructions from Her Majesty's Government. It would not be any personal inconvenience to him to go to Rome, but he should know your decision as soon as possible in order to make arrangements. He begs you to telegraph your answer direct to him.

No. 36.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 21, night.)

Constantinople, November 21, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs asks me to express hope that at the meetings of the Representatives before the Conference there may be only general discussions and exchange of views, but no decision taken. He trusts that measures to be adopted may be fairly discussed at the Conference itself and not be merely submitted to it for formal ratification.

No. 37.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 81.)

Scutari, November 11, 1876.

My Lord,

ON the 9th instant I had the honour to inform your Lordship, by telegraph, that the Porte had directed the military authorities in North Albania to forward fifteen battalions of infantry from Podgoritza to Antivari, to be in readiness to embark on five transports, already on their way to that place, for the purpose of conveying them to Constantinople.

I now learn that two batteries of field guns are to be embarked at the same time, and that the battalions selected to leave are those belong to the Syrian or Fifth Army Corps.

The inhabitants of Scutári have been called upon to prepare quarters for six other battalions that are now on the Montenegrin frontier, all the existing barracks here, as well as a number of the most spacious houses, having been transformed into hospitals.

The irregular troops belonging to North Albania have all been allowed to return to their homes since the conclusion of the armistice, but the Zeibeks are to be retained at Podgoritza.

Should hostilities recommence at the end of two months, and the Porte be obliged, for pressing military reasons, to withdraw the bulk of its troops from the southern

frontier of Montenegro, I believe the Montenegrins would not make a very extensive advance into this Province, as they are well aware that the Albanians are no better disposed to submit to their domination than to that of the Turks, and that the Guega mountaineers could offer a very effectual resistance on their own territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 38.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 82.)

Scutari, November 11, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch this day addressed by me to Sir Henry Elliot, respecting the complaint of the Acting Russian Consul here, that Dervish Pasha has committed at Podgoritza a serious infraction of the existing armistice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Consul Kirby Green to Sir H. Elliot.

Scutari, November 11, 1876.

Sir,

YESTERDAY I had the honour of telegraphing to your Excellency that the Russian Acting Consul had informed me that he was about to bring under the notice of his Government what he called a serious infraction of the armistice at Podgoritza, by Dervish Pasha. He considered that the Turkish Commander-in-chief was not justified in repairing the damage lately done by the Montenegrin artillery to Block-house No. 1.

Although I understand the armistice consented to by the Porte is one without special conditions, I believe Dervish Pasha would at once desist from repairing the trifling damage in question, did he think it possible that his action was endangering the pending negotiations for peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 39.

M. Contostavlos to M. Gennadius.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by M. Gennadius, November 22.)

Athènes, le 21 Octobre / 2 Novembre 1876.

Monsieur,

FAISANT suite à mes précédentes dépêches, je crois devoir porter à votre connaissance qu'il résulte d'informations que j'ai tout lieu de considérer dignes de foi que la Porte, loin de renoncer à son projet d'établir des colonies Circassiennes dans les provinces Grecques de la Turquie, a envoyé un ordre secret au Gouverneur-Général du Vilayet de Janina, par lequel elle désigne les localités de la Thessalie où elle se propose d'établir des colons Circassiens au nombre de 100,000 âmes.

De plus, le Gouvernement Ottoman aurait l'intention de faire venir dans le même but des Arabes de Yemen.

Je crois inutile de faire ressortir toute la gravité de ces renseignements. Il n'est plus permis de douter que le Gouvernement Ottoman, dans un but facile à comprendre, cherche par tous les moyens possibles à transplanter l'élément Asiatique, avec tout son cortége d'habitudes barbares, dans la partie Européenne de ses Etats, et, notamment, dans les provinces Grecques de l'Empire.

Or, je crois inutile de répéter ici ce que j'ai déjà expliqué dans mes précédentes dépêches, à savoir, qu'une pareille mesure, si elle venait à se réaliser, constituerait un danger permanent pour la sécurité de nos frontières en même temps qu'elle serait un coup mortel porté à l'humanité et la civilisation.

Les Puissances qui ont contribué à la formation du Royaume Hellénique per-

mettront-elles qu'il soit exposé à des dangers aussi graves? L'Europe nous a donné trop de preuves de sa sollicitude pour ne pas être convaincus qu'elle prendra encore en mains nos intérêts et, dans cette conviction, j'espère que les Grandes Puissances imposeront à la Porte l'engagement de ne pas modifier les conditions éthnologiques de ses populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe par l'introduction d'éléments hétéroclites, Circassiens et autres.

La nécessité d'un pareil engagement se fait sentir impérieusement, et le moment actuel serait des plus opportuns pour réaliser une pensée aussi généreuse.

Je ne saurais donc vous recommander assez d'agir dans ce sens auprès du Cabinet de Sa Majesté Britannique conformément à mes précédentes instructions.

No. 40.

M. Contostavlos to M. Gennadius.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by M. Gennadius, November 22.*)

Athènes, 23 Octobre / 4 Novembre 1876.

Monsieur,

VOUS connaissez déjà, par mes communications précédentes, l'état actuel de la question produite entre le Gouvernement Royal et la Sublime Porte par la colonisation des Tscherkesses. Il s'agissait, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous entretenir dans ma note de ce mois, d'amener la Porte à faire une mention formelle et explicite de la Macédoine dans l'énumération des provinces où le Gouvernement Ottoman s'engagerait à ne pas établir des colonies Circassiennes et ceci pour les raisons expliquées déjà dans une note du Ministère à M. Coundourioti, que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous transmettre en copie. Le Gouvernement Royal se contenterait d'une explication dans ce sens des termes "localités circonvoisines" employés par la Sublime Porte dans la dernière réponse qu'elle avait adressée sur la question à M. Coundourioti. Avant toutefois d'engager le Ministre du Roi à Constantinople à faire de démarches officielles à ce but auprès de la Sublime Porte j'ai cru devoir sonder les dispositions du Gouvernement Ottoman, afin d'éviter une réponse négative de sa part, qui rendrait impossible une entente ultérieure à ce sujet entre les deux Gouvernements.

En chargeant M. Coundourioti de cette mission délicate, je n'ai pas manqué de lui expliquer que les raisons militant en faveur de notre demande, sont dans l'intérêt de la Sublime Porte tout aussi bien que dans le nôtre; que comprendre la Macédoine dans l'énumération des provinces Grecques de la Turquie qui, sur nos représentations, seraient exclues de la colonisation des Circassiens, serait pour le Gouvernement Ottoman, non seulement un acte de justice et de bon vouloir envers le Gouvernement Royal et les populations Helléniques de la Turquie, mais bien plus encore, un acte de sage prévoyance vis-à-vis des prétentions exorbitantes des Bulgares, qui ont des vues très-prononcées déjà sur toute la Macédoine et que, par conséquent, la Sublime Porte reconnaissant à la Macédoine ses droits à l'Hellénisme, et en éloignant à ce titre les colons Tscherkesses, pourrait très-bien faire de cette concession un argument puissant contre une délimitation de la future Bulgarie, qui tendrait à absorber toute la Macédoine.

Malheureusement le Gouvernement Turc ne s'est pas montré disposé d'entrer dans ces vues, si justes pourtant et si bien motivées. Il m'a communiqué par l'intermédiaire de M. Photiades qu'il ne pouvait pas mentionner formellement la Macédoine dans l'énumération des provinces où il s'engagerait à ne pas établir des colonies Circassiennes, vu que le nom de cette province était un terme géographique trop vague pour servir de base à un engagement quelconque. Je n'ai pas besoin, Monsieur, de vous faire relever toute l'inexactitude de cette allégation. Bien loin d'être un terme vague et indélini, la Macédoine est un pays très-distinctement délimité. Ses frontières, pour avoir changé de nom avec le temps, n'en sont pas moins fixes et hors de toute contestation. Elles sont au sud l'Archipel, le Mont Olympe et les Montagnes Carboriennes (Volitza), à l'ouest le Mont Lucolika, le Mont Gramoros, et le Mont Ragosa, qui borne à l'ouest le Lac d'Orkrida, au nord le Mont Scardos (Tschar-Daaz), et sa continuation, Egrison Daaz, à l'est la Rhodope (Mont Rorspati), depuis le Mont Rila jusqu'aux embouchures de Neste (Mesto). Les limites que la Macédoine a eu depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours, sont aussi celles que tous les Macédoniens reconnaissent aujourd'hui à leur patrie. On ne saurait les ignorer, ou les mettre en doute, à moins de faire preuve d'un manque de bon vouloir.

Ainsi vous voyez, Monsieur, que la raison alléguée par la Sublime Porte pour motiver son refus, loin de reposer sur les faits, s'en écarte au contraire d'une manière assez flagrante, pour faire supposer au Gouvernement Royal que la Sublime Porte

persiste cette fois encore dans son système de subterfuge qu'elle a tant de fois opposé à nos justes représentations.

En vous faisant part de ce qui précède je vous prie, Monsieur, d'en vouloir bien entretenir M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Grande Bretagne, et de continuer toujours, conformément à mes instructions précédentes, vos démarches auprès du Cabinet de Londres afin que son appui se fasse énergiquement sentir à Constantinople en faveur de notre juste demande.

No. 41.

Mr. Edwardes to Sir A. Buchanan.—(*Received at the Foreign Office, November 22.*)

(No. 214.)

Sir, *Buda-Pest, November* 18, 1876.

M. TISZA, at the sitting of the Chamber yesterday, replied as follows to the interpellations of MM. Simonyi and Kelfy:—

The Government, his Excellency said, in reply to the former, were not ready to lay before the Chambers a report of the course pursued by them in the Eastern question, because they held that any publication of steps taken could but impair their power in the matter.

In answer to the second question, M. Tisza said, that to appoint a special day, and that before the bringing forward of the Budget for a discussion on the Eastern question, would cause a delay in the transaction of public business. However, he was unable, he knew, to prevent during the discussion of the Budget this question being brought before the House. But if it were, he trusted that the debate would be so limited "as to raise in the mind of no one a doubt of the tact of the Chamber."

This was his answer to M. Simonyi's questions.

The Chambers, he added, were free to withdraw their confidence from the Government; and should they do so, the Government knew, and would act up to their constitutional duties. Until, however, this took place, it must be left to their judgment to express themselves, and to choose their own time for such expression, on so important a question.

To M. Kelfy's interpellation the Minister-President answered that the Government had learnt the text of the Czar's declaration through the official Russian paper, but in consequence of this speech would no special step be taken. The Government would preserve a determined attitude in the Eastern question, and no change would be made on account of the Emperor's words. The policy of Austria-Hungary had been plainly drawn out from the beginning. He hoped that the meeting of the Conference, which the Government had accepted on the bases proposed by England, would insure the preservation of peace.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. G. EDWARDES.

No. 42.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November 22.*)

(No. 1.)

My Lord, *Paris, November* 21, 1876.

I CALLED this morning upon the Due Decazes, and had a long conversation with him on the subject of the Conference.

His Excellency began by expressing an ardent wish for the preservation of peace. He then proceeded to discuss the question of the occupation of the Turkish Provinces, the possibility of which, he thought, should, at all events, be recognized.

He distinguished between three sorts of occupation, which he described as individual, parallel, and collective. He admitted throughout that the individual occupation of Turkish territory by Russia was out of the question, but he seemed at first disposed to support the second kind—the parallel occupation; assigning to Austria, Bosnia and the Herzegovina; to Russia, Bulgaria; and to England what he called Macedonia.

He pressed this on me because the Western Powers had, he said, neglected the Greeks and owed them assistance, and because it would enable Great Britain to watch over the passage of the Bosphorus.

I said that this idea was too full of difficulty in arrangement, and too liable to the danger of its ending in the dissolution of the Turkish Empire, to be treated as within the limits of discussion.

He then pressed the third form of occupation,—the combination of the troops of the various Powers in the occupation of the same districts; but, after a brief discussion, we dismissed this proposal as presenting the danger of a conflict among the Powers, and as imposing upon many of them, notably England and France, charges which they would not willingly incur.

His Excellency then, admitting that occupation in any form was exceedingly difficult of arrangement, but expressing a hope that Her Majesty's Government would not repel the idea absolutely if it seemed to be the sole chance of peace, went on to the question of reforms. Of these the two on which he placed a special importance were the establishment of a local and central international tribunal, after the fashion of that established in Egypt, and immovable Governors. He spoke in high terms of the working of the Egyptian plan, and alluded, with particular satisfaction, to the circumstance that the native Judges, sitting by the side of Europeans, had so speedily caught their tone that when the Khedive tried to coerce the Tribunal, they resisted him as stoutly as the others.

His Excellency was very earnest in his exhortations to patience. He hoped that any positive declarations, which General Ignatiew might make at the outset, would not be taken too literally, and dwelt much on the Emperor Alexander's love of peace and the necessity of it in the interests of Russia.

He read to me some telegrams from St. Petersburgh, which certainly pointed in that direction, though they indicated that Russia would try to get occupation if she could.

I observed that Her Majesty's Government could not agree to military occupation, but that they had no intention of making themselves responsible for misgovernment, and that they were earnestly desirous of arranging guarantees.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 43.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 2. Confidential.)
Paris, November 21, 1876.

My Lord,

IN the course of my conversation with the Duc Decazes, reported in my previous despatch of this day, his Excellency observed that in his opinion the position of Austria was the most dangerous of all the Powers in the event of war springing up.

He expressed great fear of the position of Prince Bismarck in the centre of all the good things which he coveted, and able at short notice to lay his hands either on the Provinces of Russia, Austria, or France, according as events might make the one or the other the more easy prey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 44.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22, 2·30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)
Pera, November 22, 1876, 12·30 P.M.

THE President of the Danube Commission is ordered to Bucharest to inform Roumanian Government of the answer that the Porte is prepared to make to the demands of which the substance was given in Mr. St. John's despatch of July 1st.

The answer is favourable as regards all the demands except second and seventh, which, as affecting matters depending on the Treaties, Porte declares itself incompetent to deal with.

Sir Stephen Lakoman, who left yesterday, made proposals for putting the Roumanian army at the disposal of the Porte. He stated himself to be acting under

secret instructions from M. Bratiano, whose views Ali Bey is desired confidentially to ascertain.

Consider this very confidential.

No. 45.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 22, 1876, 5·8 P.M.*

HER Majesty's Government think it as well that you should go to Rome on your way.

No. 46.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.[*]

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 22, 1876, 6·35 P.M.*

LORD SALISBURY will go to Rome on his way to Brindisi.

No. 47.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November 22, 1876.*

CAPTAIN WELLESLEY has received intelligence that military circle of Moscow is about to be mobilized.

No. 48.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.†

(No. 981.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 22, 1876.*

I ENCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, a copy of the "London Gazette" of yesterday, containing copies of further correspondence respecting the affairs of the East and the proposed Conference.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 49.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 22, 1876, 5·40 P.M.*

COLONEL HOME has called my attention to extreme importance of securing telegraphic communication between England and Constantinople in the event of our being involved in war with Russia.

None of the existing lines would offer any security, which could, however, be obtained by a cable from Malta to Crete, which is in communication with Constantinople.

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[*] A similar telegram was sent to Sir A. Paget.

† Identic despatches were addressed to Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Buchanan, Lord A. Loftus, Sir H. Elliot, Lord Salisbury, and Sir A. Paget.

No. 50.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 22, 1876, 6 P.M.*

THE Constitution will probably be promulgated within a few days.

No. 51.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November 22, 1876, 6 P.M.*

THE export of horses from Austria-Hungary is prohibited by a Ministerial Decree dated yesterday.

No. 52.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 980.)

My Lord, *Paris, November 22, 1876.*

THE Marquis of Salisbury arrived at Paris on the evening before last, and set out for Berlin last evening. He had interviews yesterday with Marshal MacMahon and the Duc Decazes, of which he has himself given your Lordship an account.

The two Ambassadors appointed to represent France at the Conference at Constantinople, the Comte de Bourgoing and the Comte de Chaudordy, have left Paris for Brindisi, whither a French Government steam-vessel has been sent to convey them to Constantinople.

The inclosed article, dated yesterday, which appears in the "Journal des Débats" of this morning, contains, I believe, a correct account of their movements and of the composition of the special staff of Secretaries attached to them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Extract from the "Journal des Débats" of November 22, 1876.

DEUX Ambassadeurs de France, M. le Comte de Bourgoing et M. le Comte de Chaudordy, l'un Ambassadeur en Turquie, l'autre en Espagne, doivent représenter conjointement le Gouvernement de la République Française à la Conférence Internationale de Constantinople.

M. Victor Tiby, Premier Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de France près le Roi d'Italie; M. Paul Desprez, fils de l'éminent Directeur des Affaires Politiques au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères; et M. de Voize, attaché à la Direction Politique, ont été adjoints à la mission extraordinaire des deux Ambassadeurs.

Hier Lundi, le Comte de Bourgoing, M. Victor Tiby et M. Desprez fils, ont quitté Paris par le train d'Italie (Mont Cenis). Ce soir doivent partir le Comte de Chaudordy et M. de Voize.

Les Ambassadeurs, les secrétaires, et les attachés à leur mission, se rendent directement par la voie de terre à Brindisi (Adriatique), où ils doivent se réunir, et d'où un bâtiment de l'Etat, le "Desaix," les transportera tout d'une traite à Constantinople.

L'Ambassade de France est en ce moment représentée, dans la capitale de la Turquie, par M. de Moüy, Premier Secrétaire, Chargé d'Affaires. On sait que le Comte de Bourgoing, qui retourne à Constantinople, avait été appelé récemment à Paris pour y recevoir les instructions directes de M. le Duc Decazes, avec lequel il a eu de nombreuses Conférences.

No. 53.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November 23, 1876.*

WOULD there be any objection to Monson's coming away from Ragusa during armistice and Conference?

No. 54.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876, 6 P.M.*

IN reply to your telegram of to-day, regret to put Mr. Monson to any inconvenience, but the Conference being opened will not put an end to the necessity of having a British Representative who can communicate with the Prince of Montenegro. It may be more necessary than ever.

No. 55.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 505.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876.*

I REGRET to be compelled to say in reply to your Excellency's telegram of to-day, that, though I am most reluctant to take a step which may inconvenience Mr. Monson, I cannot consent to his leaving Ragusa at present.

The opening of the Conference will not do away with the necessity of there being a British Agent at hand, capable of communicating, if necessary, with the Prince of Montenegro, but will, on the contrary, make the presence of such an Agent even more desirable than it has been hitherto; under these circumstances, as there is no one in a position to take Mr. Monson's place, it would not be for the advantage of the public service that his services at Ragusa should be discontinued.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 56.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 792.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 1223 of the 31st ultimo, reporting your conversation with Safvet Pasha on the subject of the Porte's anxiety that there should not be a Conference, I have to state that Her Majesty's Government approve the language held by your Excellency on that occasion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 57.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 793.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876.*

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve your having instructed Sir A. Kemball to recommend the good treatment of Russian prisoners by the Turkish Commanders, as reported in your despatch No. 1232 of the 2nd instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 58.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 794.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 1233 of the 2nd instant, upon the subject of insinuations made by General Ignatiew, and at Livadia, that you have encouraged the Porte to resist the concessions demanded by Russia.

I am quite aware of the groundlessness of those insinuations, and I have much pleasure in expressing to your Excellency the entire satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government with your proceedings.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 59.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 795.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 1253 of the 7th instant, inclosing copies of two further reports by Mr. Baring, respecting the Commission at Philippopolis, as well as your despatch No. 1254 of the same date, reporting the protests which you have made against the very unsatisfactory proceedings of the Commission.

I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve your representations, which you should continue to make in the most forcible manner.

The mode in which the Commissioners are dealing with the affair is evidently illusory and evasive, and the excuses of Ismail Bey appear to be pretexts for delay. As Mr. Baring's representations and suggestions seem to be so little regarded, it is a question for grave consideration by Her Majesty's Government whether his recall may not be after all advisable.

In the case of the failure of justice the Porte must not expect that Great Britain and the Powers will allow the matter to rest.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 60.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 23, 2·51 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Rome, November 23, 1876, 2·40 P.M.*

LORD SALISBURY'S intended visit to Rome gives great satisfaction to Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Chaudordy is expected here daily.

No. 61.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 23, 2·53 P.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November 23, 1876, 1·45 P.M.*

EDHEM PASHA, Turkish Ambassador at Berlin, will be the second Turkish Plenipotentiary at the Conference.

Minister for Foreign Affairs was alarmed at the report that he was not to be permitted to be President. I said to him I had no reason to suppose usual practice would be departed from.

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* Repeated to Embassies.

No. 62.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876, 6·50 P.M.*

THE following appears in to-day's "Times," in a letter from the special correspondent, dated Pera, November 17, and telegraphed from Vienna:—

"It appears that, upon the suggestion and encouragement of Sir H. Elliot, the Grand Vizier is still bent on putting forward certain restrictions which it will probably not be difficult for the Representatives of the Guaranteeing Powers to overrule.

"Sir Henry Elliot observed that, although Her Majesty's Government was the original proposer of certain reforms and liberties to be bestowed upon the disturbed provinces, all necessity to insist upon them had been in a great measure removed by the scheme of constitutional government projected by Midhat Pasha, and now under discussion by the General Council.

"Sir H. Elliot urged besides that Turkey would come all the easier out of the ordeal of the Conference the readier she showed herself to stand upon her rights, by proving that she might have in any extremity force on her side."

The "Times'" correspondent goes on to say that, "acting upon the strength of these arguments, the Porte is making preparations for war."

No. 63.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 23, 1876, 7·15 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram *en clair* of to-day, Her Majesty's Government wish to deny the reports of the "Times'" correspondent, which they do not doubt are incorrect.

Telegraph reply immediately.

No. 64.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 798.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1876.*

YOUR despatch No. 1219 of October 31, on the subject of General Ignatiew's negotiations with the Porte for the conclusion of an armistice has been received, and I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve your proceedings as reported in your above-mentioned despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 65.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 83.)

My Lord, *Scutari, November 11, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Russian Acting-Consul here having informed me that the orthodox Slav community at Podgoritza had complained to him that Dervish Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-chief, had taken possession of their church, after having forced them to repair the doors and windows which had been damaged by the Zeibek Bashi-Bazouks, and had transformed it into a store for ammunitions, I made a representation on the subject to the General.

Dervish Pasha immediately replied that he had, as yet, only contemplated putting the Orthodox Church to the same use as one of the Mosques at Podgoritza, but that a considerable portion of his troops having been ordered, within the last few days, to leave for Constantinople, the necessity no longer existed of having large stores on

the Montenegrin frontier, and that, consequently, he had no difficulty in accepting my suggestion that the Slavs should not be deprived of their place of worship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 66.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 225. Political.)
Cettinjé, November 10, 1876.

My Lord,

CONSTANT PASHA, the Special Envoy sent by Moukhtar Pasha to treat respecting the armistice, arrived at Cettigné last night. He had an audience of the Prince this afternoon, and he tells me that as he finds that there is nothing to be done here, he will return at once to Ragusa, where the Delegates of the Mediating Powers are to hold their discussions.

I understand from his Excellency that the principal object of his mission was to arrange for the victualling of the town of Nichsich; the garrison has, he assures me, sufficient provisions to last until the spring. The Prince, however, while ready to consent to the passage of groceries and of clothing, has declared that he cannot allow the transport of grain and cattle. Moreover, His Highness pointed out that, as the whole matter was to be settled by the foreign Delegates, it would be the simpler course for Constant Pasha to address himself to the delegation.

Such conflicting telegrams as to the powers and functions of the Delegates have arrived here from Constantinople, that it would be clearly useless to enter upon any discussion at Cettigné; and the prospect at present is, that what seemed at first a very straightforward and easy business will be protracted over several weeks.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 67.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 226. Political.)
Cettinjé, November 10, 1876.

My Lord,

HAVING received this afternoon from Sir Andrew Buchanan a telegram informing me that I am at liberty to proceed to Ragusa, I went at once to the palace to take leave of the Prince, in order to be able to start to-morrow morning and catch the steamer at Cattaro.

I found His Highness so anxious about the illness of his son that I remained only a very few minutes. I asked him whether the version given me by Constant Pasha of the interview which he had had a few hours previously, and which I have reported in my immediately preceding despatch, was correct, and His Highness confirmed the Pasha's account of what had passed.

The Prince then said that, as regarded the terms of peace, there were three things which Montenegro demanded: the cession of Nichsich, of the plain on the right bank of the Moratcha, and of the seaport of Spitza; and that these three points were essential and could not be relinquished. If one were refused him he should not care to accept the two others; and as regards the seaport, he begged that I would represent to Her Majesty's Government the hope which he entertained that they would find it possible to make interest for him at Constantinople in favour of this particular cession.

I told His Highness that I had endeavoured to report all his views correctly to Her Majesty's Government, and that I would not fail to communicate to your Lordship what he had now said, but that I had no knowledge of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, and could give him no assurance that they in any way favoured his views. I then thanked His Highness for the courtesy with which he had invariably treated me, and bade him farewell.

Nothing was said by His Highness respecting his projected visit to Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 68.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 228. Political.)
Ragusa, November 12, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that I have this day arrived at Ragusa on my return from Montenegro.

The only foreign Agent remaining at Cettigné is the Russian, M. Yonine, who will doubtless regulate his movements by those of the Prince.

Constant Pasha, the Envoy sent by Moukhtar Pasha to Cettigné to treat concerning the armistice, and M. Stanko Radovich, the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs, have come to Ragusa by this steamer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 69.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 229. Political.)
Ragusa, November 12, 1876.

My Lord,

COLONEL LENNOX has this day delivered to me your Lordship's despatch No. 6 of the 2nd instant, instructing me to render him every assistance in my power in the discharge of his duties as Military Delegate on the part of Great Britain for the delimitation of the frontier.

The other Delegates already at Ragusa are: for Austria, Lieutenant-Colonel Albori; for France, Chef d'Escadron Lemoyne; for Italy, Signor Durando; and for Russia, Colonel Bogoluboff. The German Delegate, Lieutenant-Colonel von Seebach, cannot possibly be here before the 17th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 70.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 20. Political.)
Odessa, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to the mobilization of a portion of the troops, of which your Lordship will have heard by telegraph, I have the honour to report that this mobilization consists of the troops actually on service in the military district of Odessa and of the first line of reserve, comprising those soldiers who were on furlough for a definite time, but who would be called on in an emergency.

I was in error in stating in my Political despatch No. that my servant had unlimited leave. He had leave till 1879, and is among those now called out.

A general inscription of horses has been made, and they have been drawn the last two days.

Bishenef in Bessarabia is to be the headquarters of His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaivitch, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Military Arrondissement of Odessa.

This division is composed of six corps of about 40,000 each.

With regard to other military preparations, Mr. Vice-Consul Wagstaff reports to me that he has learnt from a reliable source that two companies of picked sappers and miners of 100 men each, with large funds at their disposal, are on the point of leaving Nicolaef—the one for the Pruth, the other for the Danube, near Sulina.

He also states that torpedoes have been laid down at the entrance of the estuary of the Boug, immediately inside Cinburn Spit, under Ochakof, to about three miles up the river, and that more are being laid down.

Some of these explode on impact, others at will from electric batteries.

Mr. Wagstaff also states that the circular ironclad "Vice-Admiral Popoff," is still

undergoing repairs, and will not be ready till about the 24th instant, and that she will be sent either to Odessa or Ochakof, to add to the defence of those ports; but that, to insure her own safety, she is to be encircled by torpedoes. He adds that the majority of naval men at Nicolaef consider her a failure, and unable to bear her armament. Her new gun-carriages are to be on the Rayskazoff hydraulic principle.

The laying down of torpedoes was begun at Odessa this morning.

I do not, and shall be unable to know much more than this, nor would any information I might obtain about them be of use, unless accompanied by an accurate plan, which it would be impossible to obtain without spending much money.

I may say briefly that every preparation in the way of collecting military stores, calling in and arming the men, and fortifying the coast, is being made as for immediate impending war.

Among the soldiers now recalled to the ranks there is certainly no enthusiasm for the war they all anticipate.

There is no singing or cheering, but much weeping among them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

19th. The Railway Administration refuse goods, though they still bring down corn. Goods destined for Rieff which have been carried as far as Shmerinka, 363 versts or 249 miles, have been returned here.

To-day's paper contains a notice forbidding the exportation of horses. It is feared that the same as to corn will soon be issued.

G. E. S.

No. 71.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 21. Political.)
Odessa, November 17, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a confidential despatch with translation, from the Minister of the Interior to the Governors of the different provinces, enjoining them not to allow the Roman Catholic Priests to perform any religious ceremonies for the Greco-Uniats.

The documents have been sent to me by Mr. Vice-Consul Webster and may be of interest to your Lordship.

It appears that the Greco-Uniats, as to whom Mr. Webster gave some information, forwarded with my despatch No. 21 Consular of 29th June, distrust the Orthodox clergy, regard them as secret police rather than as priests to whom to confess.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 71.

Letter addressed by the Russian Minister of the Interior to the Governors of the Provinces of ———.

(Translation.)
Ministry of the Interior, St. Petersburgh [no date].

Sir,

THE Governor-General of Warsaw informs me that it has come to his knowledge that sundry persons of the Greco-Uniat faith who have been provisionally banished into the interior of the Empire for religious fanaticism and stubborn resistance to the cleansing of the Greco-Uniat rites from everything Latin, are allowed by the local authorities to perform their religious ceremonies with the Roman Catholic priests and attend at the Roman Catholic chapels.

Bearing in mind that to allow Uniats who are living in the Empire to fulfil their spiritual requirements in the Roman Catholic Chapels is entirely against the instructions already issued, by virtue of which all religious ceremonies of the Uniats, as there are no Uniat priests, must be performed not by the Roman Catholic, but by the Orthodox clergy, which is the chief aim of sending these persons into the interior, and that such a proceeding might have a pernicious influence on that part of the country

whence these people have been taken, and where they have left relations and friends with whom they are in private communication, the General Adjutant Count Kotzebue requests that the necessary measures be taken to forbid the Uniats sent into the interior of Russia from fulfilling their religious rites and ceremonies with the Roman Catholic priests or from attending at the Roman Catholic chapels.

As we acknowledge that Count Kotzebue's statement merits attention, and bearing in mind also, as a well-known fact, that the Roman Catholic priests and chapels have a baneful effect on the Uniats, exciting them to fanaticism and resistance to the re-establishment of purity in the rites of the worship of God Almighty, I beg your Excellency:—

1st. To forbid all Catholic priests in those parts of the country to which Uniats are banished to perform for these Uniats any religious ceremony.

2nd. To call the particular attention of the Uniats to the fact that the Orthodox Church, which confessed their forefathers, differs neither in rites, ceremonies, nor language from the Church of the Uniats, and to instil into them the idea of applying to the Orthodox clergy for the fulfilment of their religious duties as Christians, which clergy, by an Order of the Holy Synod of the 12th November, 1869, and 4th February, 1870, sent round as a Circular, were empowered to perform all the rites and religious requirements of the Uniats whom they might confess, and to whom they could administer the Holy Sacrament.

(Signed) THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

No. 72.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 22. Political.)
Odessa, November 19, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 19 dated the 10th instant, I have the honour to report that the battery shown as F on the sketch accompanying that despatch will not be mounted with small guns, as I believed, but with guns of 900 or 1,500 poods, I am unable to say which, as I was not near enough to determine accurately, but they are large guns of the Krupp pattern. I am inclined to think they are of 900 poods, as the two of that size formerly shown as at C battery have been removed thence.

I have also seen two of the heavy guns of 1,500 poods going into B Battery.

Several other alterations having been made, I inclose a sketch showing the batteries as at present, and I do not imagine many more alterations can be made.

I understand, but cannot vouch for it, that the 1,500-pood gun will carry a shot of 14 poods, or 504 lbs.

I shall send a sketch showing the alterations to the Admiral commanding Her Majesty's Mediterranean fleet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 73.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 436.)
Madrid, November 20, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs was yesterday asked in the Congress whether there was any truth in the report that had appeared in the Ministerial newspapers that Spain would be prepared to take part in the Turkish question, and, in case of war, to send a large body of troops to the East. Señor Calderon Collantes replied that he was not responsible for any statements of this nature that might appear in the newspapers. All he could say was that the affairs of Turkey had not occupied the attention of the Government, which was exclusively directed to repairing the enormous losses which a long period of disorder had caused to the country, and that Spain would not engage in any adventurous course, nor spend the blood of her sons or her treasures, except for the advantage of Spain herself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 74.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 825.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November* 21, 1876.

WITH reference to the stoppage of general traffic on the railways in Western Russia, and their being placed at the disposal of the War Department, I understand that, in answer to inquiries in Russia in September, respecting rumours in circulation that the railways might be required for military purposes, Austrian contractors for cattle and grain were informed that they might undertake to deliver goods until the 15th of November, but that it would be unsafe to do so beyond that date.

This intimation now appears to have been entirely correct, as the order for closing the traffic was published, I believe, on the 16th instant, and it shows that the mobilization of the army has been intended for some time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 75.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 114.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 24, 1876.

IT is not the desire of Her Majesty's Government that your Excellency should in any way interfere with the ordinary business of Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, but they cannot let the occasion of your Excellency's special Embassy pass without requesting you, as a member of Her Majesty's Government, to convey to the Porte a further and very serious warning with regard to the manner in which the outrages committed on the population in Bulgaria are being allowed by the Turkish Government to remain without adequate redress.

In the despatch addressed to Sir H. Elliot on the 21st September, his Excellency was instructed to demand an audience of the Sultan, and to communicate to His Majesty the result of Mr. Baring's inquiries, mentioning by name Chefket Pasha, Achmet Agha, and other officials, whose conduct he had denounced. His Excellency was also, in the name of the Queen and Her Majesty's Government, to call for reparation and justice, and to urge that the rebuilding of the houses and churches should be begun at once, and necessary assistance given for the restoration of the woollen and other industries, as well as provision made for the relief of those who have been reduced to poverty; and, above all, to point out that it was a matter of absolute necessity that the eighty women carried off to Mussulman villages should be found and restored to their families.

Furthermore, his Excellency was instructed to urge that striking examples should be made on the spot of those who had connived at or taken part in the atrocities, and that the persons who had been decorated or promoted under a false impression of their conduct should be tried and degraded where this had not been done already, and every effort made to restore public confidence.

With this view, the instruction to Sir H. Elliot continued, it would seem advisable, as a provisional measure, and without prejudice to such future arrangements as might be made in concert with the Powers, that the disturbed districts should be at once placed under an able and energetic Commissioner specially appointed for the purpose, who, if not himself a Christian, should have Christian counsellors in whom trust could be reposed by the Christian population.

Sir H. Elliot executed these instructions on the 7th of October, and received from the Sultan every assurance that the measures called for by Her Majesty's Government, both for the relief of distress and for the punishment of the guilty, should be accomplished.

It is with regret that Her Majesty's Government have learnt from the subsequent reports of Mr. Baring and Her Majesty's Consular Officers how little has been done to give effect to these assurances of the Sultan.

Chefket Pasha has been retained in posts of honour, and although Achmet Aga has been at last arrested, his son, who is accused of being equally culpable, has been allowed to escape, and is in concealment among the Mussulmans.

The Turkish authorities have only sent a sum of 7,000*l.* for the rebuilding and repair of the villages, although the Turks themselves have estimated the amount

required at 30,000*l.*, and at one place Ali Bey, a notorious fanatic and a participator in the outrages, has been appointed to superintend the works.

Nothing whatever appears to have been done to restore the industries of the Christian population. From the reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government, it is doubtful how many of the eighty women have been restored to their homes. Sixty-eight women and children are stated to have been brought back to Batak, but others still remain in the hands of their captors, or are otherwise retained; and the efforts of the Pasha of Salonica to recover those who had been taken to that Province have been impeded by the Mutessarif of Drama, and other subordinates.

Instead of examples having been made on the spot, the inquiries of the Commission under Sadoullah Bey have been conducted at a distance from the scene of the principal outrages, and witnesses have had consequently to be summoned from a considerable distance, the proceedings being thus delayed, the effect of examples lost, and the ends of justice to a great extent frustrated.

The conduct of the Commission has also been in many other respects most unsatisfactory; the few members of it who have shown any capacity for judicial investigation have been checked and hindered by the interruptions of their colleagues, and months after the massacre of hundreds of women and children, and of unarmed men, the Commissioners are still considering whether such murders are crimes.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that public confidence should have been so little restored; that there should be a feeling among the people that the Commissioners are seeking to excuse rather than to judge the perpetrators of these misdeeds, and that a contrast should be drawn between the activity displayed by the Porte in punishing the Christians concerned in the insurrection and the laxity in bringing to justice the Mussulmans implicated in the outrages.

Moreover, the Provinces have been left with an insufficient number of police and regular troops, so that little security is felt that fresh outbreaks may not occur among the Mussulman villagers, Pomaks and Circassians.

Her Majesty's Government have not received any answer to Sir H. Elliot's suggestion for the appointment of a Special Commissioner, nor are they aware that any notice has been taken of it. I have referred in my despatch of the 20th instant, to the serious effect that the disregard of this suggestion, and the neglect to provide for the effectual control and regulation of the Mussulman population in the Balkan Provinces is likely to have in the approaching discussions at Constantinople; and I need the danger of leaving the country in the state in which it is now represented to be is so apparent, that Her Majesty's Government are unable to understand how the Porte can be blind to it. Even if the dictates of humanity may have no influence with the Government at Constantinople, the most ordinary considerations of policy would counsel the Porte to establish at once a firm administration over the disturbed districts, execute speedy and impartial justice, and redress the wrongs of the Christian population.

Sir H. Elliot has used his utmost efforts to impress upon the Porte the necessity of listening to the representations respecting the state of these districts, which Her Majesty's Government and the Governments of the other Powers have been constantly urging on their attention; and it is the wish of the Queen and of Her Majesty's Government that, after conferring with his Excellency and obtaining the most accurate information procurable, your Excellency should take an early opportunity on your arrival at Constantinople of again addressing the Sultan, pointing out to His Majesty how ineffectually his assurances have been accomplished by the responsible authorities, and pressing for their immediate execution.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 76.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 115.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 24, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held in your conversation with the Duc Decazes on the subject of the Conference, as reported in your despatch No. 1 of the 21st instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 77.

The Viceroy of India to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received November 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Peshawur, November 24, 1876.*

FOLLOWING private information from Cabul received by Doctor Bellew, and apparently confirmed from other sources:—

Russian and Persian Envoys have urged Ameer to alliance with Czar as greatly advantageous to Afghanistan.

Russian Agent has promised Ameer very large subsidy and restoration of former Afghan possessions down to Jhelum.

No. 78.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November 24, 1876.*

I HAVE been asked here whether, as the Conference is to meet at Constantinople at the invitation of Her Majesty's Government, and not at that of the Porte, it will not be right that the Resident Ambassadors and Ministers should have special full powers to take part in it.

No. 79.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, November 24, 1876.*

FROM information received here from the Russian Ambassador it is understood that the objects of M. Marinovich's mission to Petersburgh are, firstly, to explain to the Emperor the causes of the failure of Servian campaign, and endeavour to obtain some satisfaction to the army for the manner in which His Majesty spoke of it at Moscow; and, secondly, to show that the country is so exhausted that peace is absolutely necessary for it.

It is also believed here that Russian Agent is accompanying M. Marinovich with a view to prevent, if possible, his being compromised by revelations which M. Marinovich might make as to the language and proceedings before the outbreak of the war.

No. 80.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November 24, 1876, 3 P.M.*

FOLLOWING from Monson, dated to-day:—

"The line of demarcation settled by the Commission gives to Montenegrins, or neutrals, all that they claimed.

"Niehsich and the Edga Pass are declared blockaded.

"(Mouktar?) Pasha assures me that the Turks cannot consent to this line, and he is exceeding dissatisfied at the proceedings.

"The Austrian and the Russian delegates are going to Zaslap; the British and the French to Podgoritza.

"They will start on Sunday or Monday."

No. 81.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24, 3·29 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November 24, 1876, 1·40 P.M.*

COLONEL WELLESLEY learned that, in addition to his last report, following have received orders to mobilize:—Four divisions of infantry and fifteen regiments of cavalry in the Caucasus, and four divisions of infantry in the Moscow circle.

Two companies of sailors of the guard are to be sent south, with boats, launches, and material for crossing the Danube. Another detachment, similarly equipped, will be sent from the Black Sea.

No. 82.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24, 6 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November 24, 1876, 3·40 P.M.*

THE language attributed to me by the "Times'" correspondent, mentioned in your Lordship's telegram, is as incorrect as much that proceeds from the same source. The statement that I advised the Grand Vizier to bring forward reserves or restrictions is the exact reverse of the truth, and I have never intimated that the scheme of constitutional Government removes the necessity for the reforms and liberties proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the disturbed provinces; but I have said that when the new measures are published, with which we are not yet acquainted, it will be necessary to see whether they confer upon the provinces in question that which was demanded for them. For months past I have been urging the Porte to lose no time in removing the disabilities under which the Christians labour. The statement that I have urged that Turkey would come all the easier out of the ordeal of the Conference by holding herself ready to stand upon her rights, and by proving that she might at any time have force on her side, is absolutely false. The "Times'" correspondent has no communications with any member of Her Majesty's Embassy, and must obtain his pretended information respecting my language from a source deserving of no credit.

No. 83.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 24, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November 24, 1876, 6 P.M.*

MONSON telegraphs as follows, dated to-day:—

"With reference to my telegram of this morning, Mouktar Pasha has sent orders to Niehsich that the inhabitants may go without escort to Gatzko to get provisions, and throws on the Montenegrins all the responsibility of any conflict that may arise in consequence.

"This will be formally notified to the Commission this afternoon."

No. 84.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 25, morning.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, November 24, 1876, 10 P.M.*

I PROPOSE to leave this on Sunday morning next direct for Constantinople, and shall leave the affairs of this Consulate provisionally in the hands of Mr. Cumberlatch, who was sent to assist me by Sir H. Elliot.

No. 85.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November 25.*)

(No. 24. Political.)

Trebizond, November 6, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed this day to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, on the subject of brutal treatment inflicted by the Government tax-collectors on the peasants of the district of Youmoura in this Province.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

Inclosure in No. 85.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to Sir H. Elliot.

Trebizond, November 6, 1876.

Sir,

YOUR Excellency is perhaps aware that three Armenian newspapers of Constantinople have been suppressed for having published a correspondence wherein very serious charges are brought against the Government of Trebizond, and that a special Commissioner has been appointed to inquire into the truth of the allegation.

I have the honour to report that the Commissioner in question has arrived this day accompanied by only two of the editors of the suppressed papers, the third having been unable, it is stated, to come here owing to ill-health.

As the occurrence has, if I am rightly informed, taken more importance in consequence of subsequent incidents connected with it which have taken place at Constantinople, I consider it my duty to report to your Excellency the details of the case, such as they have come to my knowledge, without waiting for doing so to know the result of the investigation.

I must, first of all, explain that the brutal treatment by the tax-collectors of the Armenians of the village of Shana, which formed the subject of the publication in question, was made known to the public of this town by the fore-mentioned Armenian newspapers, which reached this on the 30th ultimo. The Greeks and Mussulmans here were not acquainted with, and only a few Armenians seem to had heard something on the subject. This circumstance is the more incomprehensible that Shana, which is in the district of Youmoura, is only four hours distant from the town, and in daily communication with it; and that the imputations against the Government officials entrusted with the collection of the taxes are of most serious character.

They have been thus described to me by the Armenian priest Serkis, who was one of the sufferers.

One of his co-religionists for whom he had given bail not having paid at the appointed time, Serkis was struck three or four times with a stick, fastened to a stake for some time, and would have been submitted to further ill-treatment had it not been for the interference of the Imam, and of the Mussulman Moukhtar (Elder.)

The Armenian Moukhtar and four Armenian Agas (Members of the Council) were likewise tied to stakes and thrashed.

A rich Armenian having been asked to pay 50*l.* on the account of his poorer co-religionists, came into town and borrowed 20*l.*, which he handed to the collector. He seems on that occasion to have reported to the Binbashi (Major) of police the conduct of the collector, a Uzbashi (Captain), whereupon the delinquent was recalled, and a certain Mahmoud sent in his stead, but he proved to be worse than his predecessor.

Eleven Armenians, after having been fastened and thrashed by his orders, had buckets full of water thrown on their heads; subsequently they were tied together to a single rope, and shut up in the house of the Mussulman Moukhtar, where they were kept in their wet clothes until mid-night. The priest Serkis states that when one of the gang had natural wants to satisfy, the whole of his unfortunate companions were compelled to follow him out of doors. One of these peasants, who was ill at the time, is now, it is stated, in a very precarious condition.

The inhabitants of Shana, who, I am told, were afraid to lay their grievances before the Governor-General at the time, are now signing a petition for that purpose.

To Shana are not limited the brutalities of Mahmoud; a fortnight later he

seems to have treated in the same way the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of Kutsuk and of Buyuk Samrouksa.

In the latter the sufferers are stated to be exclusively Mussulmans, from whom I have been hitherto unable to obtain detailed information.

The following is the statement of Ussoupoglu Artin, the Armenian Moukhtar, of the village of Kutsuk Samrouksa.

He being unable to cash all the sums due by his co-religionists, he was dragged by zaptiehs, with his hands tied behind his back, in the presence of the Collector, Mahmoud, who struck him so heavy a blow that the stick in his hand broke; he having armed himself with another stick, struck him again, three or four times, then he passed a long pole in the sleeves of Artin's jacket, thus compelling him to remain for an hour with extended arms, and in that position he was given to eat his meal, which he did, Artin says, like an animal, not being able to use his hands. A few Mussulmans having remonstrated for his way of acting with Mahmoud, he retorted that they were not true Mussulmans, as they were pleading for a Giaour; and he even pulled his pistol, threatening to kill him.

The Mussulman and Greek Moukhtars, as well as another Turk and an Armenian, were bound to stakes and beaten with sticks very severely.

Artin added that three days before the Bairam, that is, towards the middle of last month, he, together with one of the Mussulman sufferers, presented a petition to the Pasha, who ordered immediately an investigation, and that only last week the accused parties have been arrested.

I intended to have had an interview with the Governor-General, when two days ago he called himself to give me spontaneous information.

Although he said that no fault could be found with him, he could not conceal his grief and anxiety at the unfortunate turn which events had taken.

He does not know himself as yet to what extent the details given by the Armenians are true, but he seems to think himself that brutal treatment has been inflicted on several peasants. He said that he was so alive to the necessity of avoiding complications at the present moment that he had reduced as much as possible the amount of the tithe, and proceeded to show me the following documents in justification of his conduct:—

1. A telegram, dated the 30th Haziran (12th July last), recommending that the collection of taxes should be carried in all the districts in such a manner as to give not the least motive of complaint to the populations.

2. The petition of Artin and the Turk of Kutsuk Samrouksa, on which is appended a decree, ordering an immediate investigation of the outrages complained of.

3. An order to the Binbashi of Police (Major), who happened to be at the time in the district of Youmoura, to prevent the recurrence of brutal acts of the kind of those recorded.

4. A circular addressed to all the Sub-Governors of the Province mentioning what was reported as having taking place at Youmoura, and cautioning them against the collectors committing similar abuses in their districts.

The question naturally arises here whether the brutalities perpetrated this year against the peasants of Youmoura are of unusual occurrence or not. So far as I know personally the Government collectors were not hitherto in the habit of resorting to ill-treatment to obtain the payment of the taxes. Even in 1874 when thousands of peasants repaired in the town to submit their grievances for redress they complained of extortions, but no one spoke of having been brutally treated. I have made fresh inquiries, and it was confirmed to me that, if by exception tax-collectors had in some isolated case struck a peasant, wholesale thrashing was not practised, while pouring cold water on the head of prisoners, and submitting them to the other indignities which seem to have taken place now, were circumstances quite unknown before this.

It is remarkable that at the very moment when the Governor-General exerted himself in order to avoid all motives of complaint on the part of the populations of the Province, the very agents of the Government should give ground of serious complaint by perpetrating acts of hitherto unheard brutality. Had the peasants ill-treated been exclusively Christians, animosity of race in the present excited times might have been alleged as an explanation, but there are many Mussulmans amongst the sufferers. The only plausible supposition is, therefore, that what has taken place is the effect of a conspiracy, in which the tax-payers of the above-mentioned villages have been induced to act as emissaries. The Pasha is inclined to detect in it a plan to complicate the situation of the Empire, while I am rather of opinion that the object of the conspiracy aims only at the Pasha himself, against whom the parties who posted

up the placards mentioned in despatches Nos. 13 and 25 (Foreign Office Nos. 8 and 17) have ever since carried under-hand dealings with a view to obtain his recall.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 86.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 25.)

Milord, *Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 24 Novembre*, 1876.

J'EPROUVE un véritable plaisir à communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-jointe d'une dépêche télégraphique que je viens de recevoir de son Excellence Safvet Pacha, et qui constate l'assistance et les secours de toute espèce accordés aux victimes des derniers événements de Bulgarie par les soins de la Commission Extraordinaire présidée par son Excellence Saadoullah Bey.

Votre, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 86.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 23 Novembre*, 1876.

SON Excellence Saadoullah Bey, Président de la Commission Extraordinaire envoyée en Bulgarie, vient d'informer la Sublime Porte que, dans les villages incendiés dépendant de Philippopoli et de Bazardjik, il a été reconstruit jusqu'ici 950 maisons, et que 810 autres sont en voie de construction. La Commission a pris, en outre, les mesures nécessaires pour que des soins de toute nature soient procurés aux nécessiteux. Elle a fait distribuer des tapis, des couvertures et des approvisionnements de bouche à tous ceux qui en étaient dépourvus, et elle a fourni aux paysans des instruments aratoires et des avances en argent.

No. 87.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 25, 4 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Serajevo, November 25, 1876, 2 P.M.*

PREVENTED leaving last week by severe illness. I leave to-day for Constantinople.

No. 88.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 25, 6·15 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November 25, 1876, 3·15 P.M.*

I AM assured by Baron Orczy, with reference to Mr. Monson's report of yesterday as to the blockade of Nichsich, that an arrangement has been come to for victualling it during the armistice, as it would be a departure from the *statu quo ante* if it were forced to capitulate by famine.

No. 89.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 25, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, November 25, 1876, 1·55 P.M.*

I LEARN from a confidential and reliable source that the letter of the German Emperor to the Emperor of Russia, of which General Werder was the bearer, contained

* Repeated to Embassies.

renewed assurances of his moral support, and in the event of war assurance of the same attitude towards Russia as Russia had taken towards Germany during war with France, which is tantamount to enforcing neutrality on Austria.

No. 90.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Stuart.

(No. 105.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 25, 1876.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copies of two despatches from the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the establishment by the Porte of Circassian Colonies in Thessaly and Macedonia.*

These despatches were communicated to me on the 22nd instant by the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in this country, and in receiving them, I confined myself to promising that they should receive the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 91.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 86. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, November 10, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, copies of two despatches from Mr. Consular Agent Kyriotis, dated the 26th ultimo, relative to the state of affairs in Epirus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 91.

Mr. Kyriotis to Vice-Consul Blakeney.

Sir, *Janina, October 26, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that on Sunday last the 21st instant, the last day of Bairam, it was rumoured among the Christians that the so long threatened massacre on the part of the Mahommedans, and which was supported by the fact of their having armed themselves, had to be carried out during that night. Many of the Christians, therefore, secretly carried everything they could from their shops to their houses, and prepared themselves to offer a vigorous resistance to the assailants. Their fears proved groundless. The troops, however, which patroled the streets during the days of Bairam were doubled during the night in question, and as this was done only this year, it proves that even the authorities suspected something of the kind. And on Tuesday the 24th instant the Governor-General called the leading men of the three communities—Turks, Christians and Jews—and persuaded them to turn a deaf ear to injurious reports, and confide in the Government, and to attend to their work without entertaining the least fear.

I have, &c.
(Signed) B. KYPRIOTIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 91.

Mr. Kyriotis to Vice-Consul Blakeney.

Sir, *Janina, October 26, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that the demonstrations held in Greece were considered by the Governor-General as the work of Russian policy. This belief on the part of the Governor-General was, however, shaken of late by one of the spies, who assured him that the above demonstrations were held by the advice of England in consequence of the change of British policy.

* Nos. 39 and 40.

The above news also spread among the inhabitants, and, much as it grieved the Mahommedans, it pleased the Christians and made them hope. However, the spy in question named Nicholas Zigaras is from Zagori, jurisdiction of Janina, where, last summer, the Governor-General discovered and baffled the attempt of a Russian Emissary to form a centre of a revolutionary society, and many natives of Zagari carrying a trade in Servia possess landed property there, and have become Servian citizens.

This Nicholas Zigaras was the most daring tool of the Russian Consulate in this place up to the end of the Cretan insurrection, and the suppression of the movement at the bridge of Koraka, when, on being discovered, he was sent over to Greece as a Greek subject; he thence proceeded to Constantinople, where he became a secret agent of the Turkish police, the chief of which was Husni Pasha (the present Governor-General of Janina).

I have, &c.
(Signed) B. KYPRIOTIS.

No. 92.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 87. Political.)

Salonica, November 10, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of your Lordship, extract of a letter which I have received from Dr. Crookshank, relative to alleged Servian atrocities.

Dr. Crookshank is employed in the Turkish Military Hospital at Sienitza.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 92.

Dr. Crookshank to Consul Blunt.

(Extract.) *Sienitza, November* 1, 1876.

THE few Servian wounded we have in the hospital are well cared for. They are placed in the same wards as the Turks, and are well treated by them.

Yesterday we received a juvenile warrior in the wards, a Bosnian lad about five years old; he had a cut on the shoulder and gunshot wound, with fracture of arm; he came from a village about two hours from here. His brother, about eighteen years old, says that about 200 Servians came into the village, cruelly massacred his mother and sisters, took off father and other prisoners, and destroyed the village. I wished very much to visit the place to-day, but our chief did not think it safe, and would not give me the necessary permission.

As soon as the lads arrived here, the Bashi-Bazouks were immediately sent off in pursuit of the Servians, but I cannot say with what result.

According to the young man's statement (he is a Bosnian, not Turk), he says the soldiers made pockets of the women's breasts, into which they thrust the sufferer's hand, and pierced them there with wooden stakes, then cut off their heads, &c.; but I can only state that I investigated him through a Turk, who speaks French, and that the wounded child in the hospital gives the story a colouring of truth. The whole affair soon spread through the hospital and camp, where we have ten or twelve battalions, and the soldiers all swore vengeance on the Serbs, if they only get at them.

No. 93.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 88. Political.)

Salonica, November 12, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 10th instant, to Sir Henry Elliot, relative to Turkish armaments.

Since the armistice has been concluded, two battalions and one battery of Field Artillery of the Egyptian division, occupying the heights of Javor in Servia, have been conveyed here by the railway from Mitrovitza.

These troops have seen good service, but appear to have suffered very much from the cold.

A correspondent writing to me from Sienitza under date the 8th instant, informs me that several officers and men at Javor have been frozen to death, and that daily soldiers are brought in at the hospital (at Sienitza) with their feet frozen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 93.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Salonica, November 10, 1876.

Sir,

WITH reference to my cyphered telegrams of the 8th instant, I have the honour to report that a telegraphic order from the Porte in cypher was wired through Salonica to Scodra on the 7th instant, directing Dervish Pasha, the Commander-in-chief of the army of the south operating against Montenegro, to dispatch at once eleven battalions from his command to Epirus, viâ Antivari. This reinforcement will raise the garrison in Thessaly and Epirus to 30 battalions, not including one regiment of cavalry and the field artillery, which is composed of five battalions, I believe.

Dervish Pasha is also ordered to detach twenty more battalions from his army, for service on the Danube.

I have further to report that the Pasha of Salonica has received a cyphered telegram from the Porte, of the same date as the one sent to Dervish Pasha, directing him to make arrangements at once with the Manager of the Salonica Railway for the conveyance of forty battalions of Infantry to Mitrovitza.

These battalions are being raised, it is said, in Asia Minor.

The authorities here are contracting for large quantities of biscuit, flour, barley, and hay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 94.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 272. Secret and Confidential.)

Athens, November 17, 1876.

My Lord,

AS the audience with which I was honoured by the King on the 15th instant, as mentioned in my preceding despatch, was the first opportunity which I had had of seeing His Majesty in private since his return from abroad, he had the kindness to ask me to sit down, and conversed with me at some length respecting the present state of public feeling in Greece and the policy of his Government.

After expatiating upon the gratification which he and the Queen had derived from the enthusiasm with which they had been received on their arrival, the King expressed his conviction that the country had no desire or intention of making war upon Turkey, and merely required to be placed in a better state of preparation than at present, in order to be able to raise her voice with more effect on behalf of Hellenic interests in view of the important changes which appeared to be impending in the East.

His Majesty said that for years past he had felt the necessity of re-organizing the Greek army, and that he was anxious to take the present opportunity of obtaining a vote from the Chamber for that purpose. He wanted to proceed gradually and not spasmodically; and as long as some money was voted he would not be disappointed at not getting all that the Government had asked for. He was aware that time would be required, as well as the assistance of foreign officers, before the army could be organized upon a proper footing.

His Majesty repeated several times to me that if he showed any opposition to the present wishes of the nation there would be a great increase of excitement, and a demand for much more extensive and dangerous measures; whereas his going to a certain extent with the stream would tend to reduce exaggerated notions within reasonable limits, and remove any excuse for agitation. He attached little or no

importance to the quasi-warlike demonstrations with which it had been attempted to influence him and the Chamber.

Upon my venturing to remind the King that it was dangerous to play with fire, and mentioning that the Porte had already, in answer to the apparently menacing attitude of Greece, ordered eleven additional battalions to be sent into Epirus, His Majesty observed to me, with a smile, that such a step on the part of the Porte was quite unnecessary, and ridiculed the idea of Greece commencing hostilities against Turkey.

I sounded his Majesty as to whether any overtures had been made to his Government by Russia, but he answered that nobody in Greece would be disposed to enter into an alliance with Russia, and that whenever such an idea was talked of he always asked how Russia could save Greece from being attacked, or—to use his own words—"could save us from being burnt."

On the other hand the King hinted, in the course of our conversation, that although Greece could do nothing in opposition to the will of England, the time might be near when the co-operation of the Greek nation might be of some service to England in helping her to stem the advances of Panslavism, and that it might, therefore, be a prudent policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government to encourage rather than to oppose the formation of an efficient Greek army.

I observed, in answer to this, that as long as England was not at war she could scarcely encourage steps which might lead to the evils which she wished to avert. But His Majesty repeated that there need be no fear of the preparations which he now desired to carry out leading to war with Turkey.

As regarded M. Coumoundouros and his Government, the King appeared to be satisfied with their present policy, and to believe that no other Government would have any chance of support from the present Chamber; and His Majesty concurred with an opinion which I hazarded to the effect that in the present state of affairs M. Coumoundouros would be a greater source of agitation and of danger in opposition than he now is whilst under His Majesty's immediate control. His Majesty further said that M. Coumoundouros had acquired prudence with age, and was no longer inclined to embark upon an adventurous policy.

Your Lordship will gather from the above report of my conversation with the King that His Majesty, as far as he can prevent it, and his influence and popularity are now very great, has certainly no present intention of invading Turkey, or of exciting insurrection in the Hellenic provinces of Turkey. He seemed to be in good health and spirits, and talked as if he were confident in his ability to restrain any dangerous agitation amongst his subjects. It is of great importance, as well for the best interests of Greece as for the welfare of the King and the prospects of his dynasty, that the loyalty and devotion which have lately been manifested towards the Royal Family should not be impaired, and it must be admitted that the course upon which His Majesty has decided is as moderate and pacific as any which he could adopt without placing himself in direct antagonism to the feelings of the nation.

There is no general desire for more than gradual preparations, it being felt that armies and armaments are not to be created in a day, and that Greece has not the population or the money to become formidable without the assistance and encouragement of the Western Powers, and more especially of Great Britain.

The principal object of the Hellenic Government in proposing loans and increased taxation for such purposes probably is to attract the attention of the Great Powers, in order that the prudent and pacific attitude which Greece has hitherto maintained during the existing Eastern crisis may not be made an excuse for ignoring the claims of the Hellenic Provinces of Turkey to be placed upon an equally favourable footing with the Slavonic Provinces, for which it is supposed that the Powers have been instigated by Russia to demand exclusive privileges.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 95.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 26.)

(No. 274.)
My Lord, *Athens, November* 18, 1876.

THE discussion upon the general policy of M. Coumoundouros' Cabinet in connection with the Bills which had been presented for warlike preparations, based upon

fresh loans and increased taxation, as reported in my despatch No. 260 of the 21st ultimo, commenced in the Chamber on the 8th instant, and was brought to a close yesterday evening. It resulted in a majority of thirteen in favour of the Government, the numbers having been 75 for, and 88 against, the motion implying a want of confidence in their policy.

I propose to forward to your Lordship the French translations of the principal speeches which were made as soon as they are published.

In the meantime I may mention that the Hellenic Provinces of Turkey, and the disregard with which they had been treated by the European Powers, in consequence of their having abstained from insurrectionary movements, whilst the Slavonic Provinces had been in revolt, formed a prominent subject of interest throughout the debate.

I should also mention that M. Coumoundouros' speech was generally considered to be prudent and pacific. Whilst stating that there were 25,000 rifles in store, 14,000 having been recently brought by the Greek ironclad "Queen Olga," which had been sent to be repaired at Toulon, and that 100,000 more could be procured whenever required, he took credit for having pursued a policy of neutrality, in consequence of no direct Hellenic question having arisen, and for having at the same time made such preparations as it had been in his power to make. He repeated that Greece must continue to follow a pacific policy, but that it was absolutely necessary for her to prepare herself, as the future could not be foreseen, and the East might at any moment be exposed to sudden transitions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 96.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 26.)

(No. 445.)
My Lord, *Rome, November* 20, 1876.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 436 of the 14th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have had to-day some further conversation with M. Melegari upon the menacing attitude recently assumed by Russia, and I find that his Excellency still persists in his belief in the desire of the Emperor to avoid war, if possible. In his Excellency's opinion, the measures which have been taken by Russia have, in the eyes of the Emperor and the Imperial Cabinet, become necessary in order to convince the Turkish Government that they were no longer to be trifled with, and that unless the Porte was prepared to concede the terms which were to be demanded, war would be the result. But his Excellency, nevertheless, expressed his conviction that the Emperor and his Government would very much prefer that the object which they had in view, viz., the obtaining guarantees for the future good government of the Christian population in the insurgent Provinces, should be obtained without having recourse to hostilities.

I observed to M. Melegari, in reply, that I could not help thinking that if the Russian Government was only bent upon impressing the Porte with the determination with which they were prepared to act in the event of their demands not being complied with, this end might be attained by ordering the military measures which had been decided on without inflaming still more the warlike spirit of the Russian nation by appeals to its patriotism.

M. Melegari thought that this might have been considered necessary in order to make the Emperor and his Government masters of the national movement.

I thought that this would be a good opportunity of inquiring of M. Melegari what would be the line which the Italian Government would be disposed to take in the event of the Porte not agreeing to the demands of Russia, and of Russia, in consequence, invading the Turkish Provinces.

His Excellency replied that the Russian Government had accepted the programme of Her Majesty's Government, according to which, each Power undertook to respect the territorial integrity of Turkey; this programme had also been accepted by Italy. Italy, his Excellency continued, although intending to remain neutral, could not see with indifference an infraction of this principle by Russia or any other Power.

To which I replied, that I presumed, therefore, the Italian Government would be ready to join any other Government, which had no ambitious views, in remonstrating

with Russia, should that Power evince a disposition to take possession of any part of the Turkish dominions.

M. Melegari replied, that they certainly would.

His Excellency then informed me that the Greek Government had recently applied to that of Italy, with the view of inducing them to take the initiative of proposing at the Conference that the same measures should be granted to the Greek populations in Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia, as it was proposed to obtain for the Christians of the insurgent Provinces; to which, his Excellency told me, he had replied that, although Italy had the greatest sympathy for Greece and the Greek population of Turkey, she was, nevertheless, not one of the Guaranteeing Powers of Greece, and it would consequently appear like an act of presumption on the part of the Italian Government to be the proposer of such a measure.

He, therefore, advised the Greek Government to address themselves on this subject to the Guaranteeing Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 97.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 446. Confidential.)
Rome, November 20, 1876.

My Lord,

ALTHOUGH Sir Henry Elliot's telegram repeated in your Lordship's of yesterday's date, enumerating the points which General Ignatiow considers should be obtained for the insurgent provinces, is marked Confidential, I thought there would be no indiscretion in my making M. Melegari acquainted with them in order to ascertain his views upon them.

His Excellency said he presumed they were intended as a basis for negotiation, and that some modifications would be admitted; without, of course, pretending to be able to form a definitive opinion, it struck him—

1. If there was a disarmament of Mussulmans the same measure ought to be applied also to Christians.

4. Although the Porte should not be allowed to introduce a fresh Mussulman population in a Christian community, he thought the expulsion of the Circassians already established in any province a harsh measure.

8. He presumed it was meant to appoint Christian Governors only where there was a Christian population, and not to insist upon one for the Mussulman population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 98.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 447.)
Rome, November 20, 1876.

My Lord,

M. MELEGARI informed me to-day that the Roumanian Diplomatic Agent here had asked him for advice as to the course which should be taken by the Government of Prince Charles in the event of Russia demanding a passage for her troops through the Principalities.

His Excellency said he had declined to give any advice on this delicate point excepting in the way of general counsels of prudence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 99.

Sir C. Wyke to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 114.)
Copenhagen, November 23, 1876.

My Lord,

IN this morning's number of the "Dagbladet" it is asserted that the most dangerous question in the so-called "dialogue" between Russia and England has at length been

arrived at, from the former Power having declared officially that the integrity of Turkey must be subservient to obtaining the guarantees required to ensure the protection and safety of the Christian subjects of the Porte in the revolted provinces, whilst the latter insists upon maintaining the stipulations in the Treaty of Paris by which that integrity is secured.

The recent declaration made by the Emperor Alexander to Lord Augustus Loftus, as to his having no intention either of taking Constantinople or interfering with Her Majesty's Indian dominions, is looked upon as a very clever move, for such declaration is only binding on the Emperor personally, whilst leaving his successors to reap the advantages which would be secured to them for ulterior projects were the Russians now enabled to occupy Bulgaria under the pretext of obtaining a material guarantee for carrying out the reforms promised by the Porte for the protection of its Christian population.

Some anxiety is naturally felt here at the present aspect of affairs from the dread of a collision between Great Britain and Russia, in the event of which taking place the Baltic would probably become the scene of a conflict between the contending Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES LENNOX WYKE.

No. 100.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, November 25, 1876, midnight.

FOLLOWING telegram from Monson to-day:—

"The Russian Agent in Montenegro passed through Ragusa this afternoon on his way to St. Petersburgh direct.

"He was met here by a special messenger from Constantinople with despatches from General Ignatiew.

"He spoke of war as now a certainty."

No. 100*.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26, 5·30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
Pera, November 26, 1876, noon.

ANSWER to your Lordship's question respecting additional Consuls required on behalf of British interests depends upon the meaning attached to that expression.

For the purpose of keeping Her Majesty's Government fully informed upon the state of things in Turkey a large increase would be necessary.

In Europe there should be a Consul at Janina and Vice-Consul at Monastir, Useup, Sophia, Widdin, Varna, and Burgas.

The present incumbents at Adrianople and Kustendji are very inefficient.

In Asia we should be the better (for?) Vice-Consuls at Brussa, Angora, Diarbekir, and Moussul, and, if war were probable, at the ports of the Black Sea.

No. 101.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Schouvaloff.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Count Schouvaloff, November 27.)

Tsarskoé-Séla, le 7 Novembre, 1876.

M. le Comte,

LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS nous a donné lecture de la dépêche que Lord Derby lui a adressée en date du 30 Octobre.

Elle a pour objet de récapituler les efforts faits par le Cabinet de Londres en vue du rétablissement de la paix en Orient.

Nous relevons avec satisfaction qu'elle constate, en même temps, l'empressement que le Cabinet Impérial a mis à aller au devant d'un accord avec l'Angleterre.

Nous n'avons jamais cessé de travailler à une entente générale des Grandes Puissances comme la seule garantie d'une solution pacifique des difficultés Orientales et notre premier soin a été de nous en ouvrir au Cabinet de Londres. Dès le mois

d'Août de l'année dernière, prévoyant les dangers de l'insurrection naissante et craignant de la voir se transformer en question d'Orient, je vous avais chargé, à Vevey, d'y rendre le Cabinet Anglais attentif à votre retour à Londres. Mais à cette époque le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ne parut pas y attacher l'importance nécessaire.

L'Autriche-Hongrie plus directement intéressée, accueillit nos offres de concours pour prévenir ces périls et s'entendit avec nous afin de soumettre à l'acceptation des Grandes Puissances des mesures d'apaisement.

Le projet contenu dans la dépêche du Comte Andrassy du 30 Décembre obtint l'appui du Cabinet de Londres, bien qu'il fut jugé inefficace, et ainsi fut posée la base du concert général que nous désirions.

Mais lorsque l'expérience eut démontré que le plan de réformes élaboré à Vienne n'était pas réalisable, faute des moyens pratiques d'exécution, et que les trois Cours Impériales proposèrent aux Grandes Puissances de développer ce programme en y ajoutant la sanction des garanties formulées dans le Mémorandum de Berlin, le Cabinet de Londres crut devoir rejeter ces propositions sans les examiner, sans les discuter, et sans y substituer aucune autre proposition.

Ainsi fut interrompu le travail d'apaisement et de conciliation auquel nous avions concouru et les conséquences en ont été terribles.

Depuis ce moment le Cabinet Impérial n'a rien négligé de ce qui pouvait dépendre de lui pour rétablir l'entente générale, et il a adhéré à la plupart des propositions faites par l'Angleterre. Si quelques nuances se sont manifestées entre les deux Cabinets dans les différentes phases de la négociation, elles tenaient aux circonstances et non à leurs intentions. Nous aimons à en trouver la preuve même dans les démarches sur lesquelles ils n'ont pas pu tomber d'accord, c'est-à-dire les mesures d'exécution militaires et navales et l'armistice de six mois.

Quant à la première, en proposant de combiner les mesures d'exécution militaire avec l'entrée des escadres dans le Bosphore et même de limiter ces mesures à l'occupation maritime des détroits, si cela était jugé suffisant, le Cabinet Impérial a attesté son entier désintéressement et sa déférence particulière pour l'Angleterre, naturellement appelée à jouer un rôle prépondérant dans toute action maritime.

Quant à la seconde, le Cabinet Impérial ne s'est pas cru en droit d'imposer à la Serbie et au Monténégro une combinaison qui tendait à prolonger leur situation pénible et onéreuse sans leur offrir aucune garantie d'une paix équitable et solide. Si le Cabinet de Londres eut échangé ses idées avec nous avant d'exprimer son adhésion à cette proposition, nous lui aurions exposé franchement notre point de vue et peut-être eut-on évité ainsi une divergence ostensible qui a nécessairement dû diminuer le respect de la Porte pour le concert Européen.

Mais ces nuances d'appréciation s'effacent devant le désir mutuel d'une entente existant entre les deux Cabinets, ainsi que le constate le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique. Pour nous c'est là l'essentiel; aussi avons nous vu avec une sincère satisfaction que le Cabinet de Londres s'est écarté de la stricte réserve qu'il semblait s'être imposé à la date de la dépêche de Lord Derby, en prenant depuis lors l'initiative d'une proposition tendant à constituer une Conférence et à en fixer les bases et le mode d'action. Nous nous y sommes ralliés avec le meilleur vouloir et le Cabinet de Londres peut compter sur notre concours pour arriver, par un accord, à une solution pacifique de la crise présente.

C'est parce que nous sommes animés de ce désir sincère d'une bonne entente que nous croyons devoir indiquer, franchement et sans aucune réticence, les points qui séparent nos appréciations de celles du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique quant à la situation actuelle des choses.

Les deux Cabinets sont d'accord sur la nécessité de ramener la paix en Orient et de préserver celle de l'Europe en mettant un terme au déplorable état de la Turquie. Lord Derby reconnait, comme nous, que pour arriver à un apaisement solide et durable, il importe d'améliorer, d'une manière efficace, la condition des sujets Chrétiens du Sultan par des réformes sérieuses et pratiques. Il reconnait également, comme nous, l'insuffisance de réformes sur papier, et la nécessité indispensable de garanties d'exécution.

Nous ne différons d'avis que sur les moyens de réaliser ce but qui est commun à toute l'Europe.

Le Cabinet de Londres voudrait le concilier avec la lettre des stipulations conclues en d'autres temps, dans une autre situation, avec d'autres idées, sans tenir compte des vingt années écoulées, et la pénible expérience qu'elles ont apportée. Cette expérience a démontré, avec la dernière évidence, que l'action Européenne en Turquie s'est condamnée à l'impuissance par les stipulations de 1856, et que la Porte en profite pour perpétuer le régime ruineux pour elle et pour ses sujets Chrétiens, désastreux pour la paix générale, révoltant pour les sentiments d'humanité et pour la conscience de l'Europe Chrétienne, qu'elle poursuit depuis vingt ans avec la certitude d'une complète impunité.

A différentes reprises les Grandes Puissances ont dû se départir de ces principes absolus en intervenant directement dans les affaires de la Turquie, notamment en Syrie, dans les Principautés Unies, en Serbie, et en Candie, et leur action a obtenu des résultats partiels et momentanés. Mais les causes premières du mal subsistent en permanence et se généralisant, devaient forcément aboutir, tôt ou tard, aux conséquences que le Cabinet Impérial n'a pas cessé de signaler depuis vingt ans à la prévoyance de l'Europe.

Aujourd'hui le témoignage des faits est irrécusable. Jamais la diplomatie ne s'est plus agitée autour des questions Orientales que pendant l'année écoulée, jamais l'Europe n'en a été plus troublée, plus menacée dans son repos, ses intérêts, sa sécurité. Jamais les violences, par lesquelles les Turcs ont répondu à ses efforts de conciliation et d'apaisement, n'ont été plus odieuses et accomplies dans de plus vastes proportions; jamais elles n'ont révélé avec plus d'évidence, la profondeur et le caractère incurable du mal qui ronge la Turquie et met en péril la sécurité de l'Europe.

Si les Grandes Puissances veulent faire une œuvre sérieuse et ne pas s'exposer au retour périodique et toujours aggravé de ces crises dangereuses, il est impossible qu'elles persévèrent dans le système qui en laisse subsister les germes et leur permet de se développer avec l'inflexible logique des choses.

Il importe de sortir de ce cercle vicieux et de reconnaître que l'indépendance et l'intégrité de la Turquie doivent être subordonnées aux garanties réclamées par l'humanité, les sentiments de l'Europe Chrétienne et le repos général.

La Porte a été la première à enfreindre les engagements qu'elle a contractés par le Traité de 1856 vis-à-vis de ses sujets Chrétiens. L'Europe a le droit et le devoir de lui dicter les conditions auxquelles seulement elle peut, de son côté, consentir au maintien du *status quo* politique créé par ce Traité et puisque la Porte est incapable de les remplir, elle a le droit et le devoir de se substituer à elle en tant qu'il est nécessaire pour en assurer l'exécution.

La Russie moins que toute autre Puissance peut consentir à renouveler les expériences de palliatifs, de demi-mesures, de programmes illusoires qui ont abouti aux tristes résultats qui sont sous les yeux de tous et réagissent sur sa tranquillité et sa prospérité intérieure. Mais si elle est plus directement, plus vivement intéressée à y mettre un terme par des améliorations sérieuses et efficacement garanties, elle n'en considère pas moins cette question comme d'un intérêt général réclamant le concert des volontés de toutes les Grandes Puissances afin d'être résolue pacifiquement.

Quant aux vues personnelles qu'elle apporte dans la poursuite de ce but elles sont étrangères à toute arrière pensée exclusive; les assurances les plus positives à cet égard ont été maintes fois données par le Cabinet Impérial. Votre Excellence a été formellement chargée, par ma lettre du 22 Octobre, de les renouveler au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique dans les termes les plus catégoriques.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur les a confirmées à Livadia à Lord Augustus Loftus avec l'autorité de sa parole Souveraine.

Le Cabinet de Londres ne saurait conserver aucun doute à cet égard et nous espérons qu'il ne tardera pas à mettre la nation Anglaise en mesure de se former la même conviction en publiant le rapport de son Représentant.

Votre Excellence est autorisée à donner lecture et copie de la présente dépêche à Lord Derby.

Nous aimons à croire que le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique y trouvera aussi la preuve de notre sincère désir d'agir de concert avec la Grande Bretagne afin que les principes, sur lesquels les deux pays sont tombés d'accord comme base de la pacification de l'Orient, ne restent point, comme par le passé, une lettre morte, un programme stérile, sans sincérité ni efficacité, laissant constamment suspendue sur les relations des deux pays et sur la paix de l'Europe, la menace des périls qui les troublent aujourd'hui.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) GORTCHAKOW.

No. 102.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1270.)
Constantinople, November 15, 1876.

My Lord,

I INFORMED your Lordship by telegraph that the Russian Embassy takes umbrage at the movement of the Turkish ships of war to the Upper Bosphorus.

Your Lordship is aware that, upon my advice, the Porte abstained from sending them into the Black Sea, as had been proposed; but the Lower Bosphorus opposite the Palace where they lie in summer being unsuited for a winter anchorage, they were sent to Beikos and Buyukdere, some twelve miles above Constantinople, within the police district of the town.

It would obviously have been unwise under present circumstances to send them into the Golden Horn above the two bridges, where they are usually laid up during the winter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 103.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1272.)
Constantinople, November 13, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Porte continues to regard the proposal for a Conference with extreme aversion, and the Grand Vizier has sent to me to express his earnest desire that Her Majesty's Government would make known to him the measures which it is intended to propose to the Porte for the administration of the insurgent provinces.

He says that if he knew what the Powers proposed to ask, it might very likely be possible for the Porte to grant all and perhaps more than was demanded, and thus render unnecessary the Conference which it looked forward to with so much dread.

I replied that it had been decided that there must be a Conference, with the general bases of which he was already acquainted.

These should satisfy him that the Porte might agree to the proposal without danger, and I hoped no further time would be lost in signifying its acceptance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 104.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1275.)
Constantinople, November 13, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the copy of your Lordship's Confidential despatch to Lord Augustus Loftus No. 538 of the 26th ultimo, upon some statements which General Ignatiew alleges me to have made to him.

I beg leave to thank your Lordship for at once declaring to Count Schouvaloff the impossibility of my having represented Her Majesty's Government as having abandoned the views lately put forward by them, and I can, at the same time, confidently assert that I have never uttered a word open to such an interpretation.

When General Ignatiew spoke to me of the arrangements to be made, he alluded to the autonomy proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the insurgent provinces, generally omitting the word "administrative," with which your Lordship had qualified the expression; and upon those occasions I certainly have reminded him of the explanation which I understood to convey its true meaning.

With regard to the preference I am represented to have professed for the system of reform put forward by Midhat Pasha over that of local autonomy, which I looked upon as "unexecutable," your Lordship not having given me any intimation of the manner in which Her Majesty's Government regarded this question, I could, as your Lordship has observed, only express a personal opinion; but upon the merits of the measures spoken of as Midhat Pasha's projects, I have pronounced no judgment,

although I have stated that, if their application can be secured, they will go far to give the provincial populations the amount of control over their local affairs asked for by Her Majesty's Government.

It has been my lot on many occasions to differ in opinion from General Ignatiew, but it will be seen by a reference to my correspondence during the last year, that we were at least agreed in considering that the plan—at that time only vaguely talked of—of conferring upon provinces situated like Bosnia and the Herzegovina an administration such as is secured by a Special Règlement to the Lebanon and to Crete, was open to the most serious objection, and would be found upon application little calculated to promote their future tranquillity.

His opinion may since have changed, but the extraordinary indignation recently excited among the Greek populations by the belief that the Slavs alone are to obtain exceptional privileges, could only tend to confirm me in the conviction that it is by general measures alone for the improved administration of all the provinces of the Empire that early insurrectionary movements in districts hitherto quiet can hope to be averted.

It is impossible for an Ambassador to avoid forming and expressing his opinions upon questions frequently discussed with his colleagues, but your Lordship may rest assured that, until I am made acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government, I am invariably careful to avoid saying anything that could commit them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 105.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1278.)
Constantinople, November 15, 1876.

My Lord,

HER Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem has informed me that, the Governor of Jerusalem having complained to him that the English Mission had printed and posted up placards against the Jewish religion, he had addressed a letter to the Reverend Mr. Frankel, who is in temporary charge of the English Mission Church at that city, requesting that this practice might be discontinued.

I have informed Mr. Moore, in reply, that he is quite right in endeavouring to prevent the posting of placards offensive to the Jews.

This matter was reported to your Lordship by Mr. Moore, in his Consular despatch No. 27 of the 10th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 106.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1279. Confidential.)
Constantinople, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I INFORMED your Lordship of the vexation shown by General Ignatiew when the acceptance of the ultimatum by the Porte stopped his departure, and for the moment prevented a rupture of the relations between Turkey and Russia.

I have the honour now to inclose the copy of a Memorandum from a perfectly trustworthy source, fully confirming this information.

I may add that although General Ignatiew frequently speaks as though there will be little difficulty in arriving at an understanding among the Powers which will bring the question at issue to a satisfactory conclusion, he seems to keep himself in readiness for an immediate departure.

The weather became so bad that he was obliged to leave the Bosphorus and to come to the Embassy in town; but he has not settled himself in it as if he expected to remain, and his things are left in the packing-cases in which they were put into the steamers to be taken to Odessa, and disembarked at Buyukdéré on the acceptance of the ultimatum which disturbed his plans.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 106.

Memorandum.

I HAVE had two interesting conversations with one of my Russian friends from the Russian Embassy. I saw this gentleman just after General Ignatiew's arrival. He told me it was true the General had come with a declaration of war in his pocket; but he does not mean to show his true colours before five or six weeks, unless forced to do so by some extraordinary emergency. He would be smooth with the Turks, and only insist upon the fulfilment of such of the conditions as Russia, conjointly with England, has demanded.

The General is said to have been in a great rage when M. Onou announced to him that the Turks were likely to accept the armistice without conditions. Starting up, he was heard to say, "Vous voyez, je veux autre chose et on me donne ceci, maintenant il faut accepter car l'Empereur sera offensé."

The language of the Russian Embassy appears to be very bitter against Sir H. Elliot and the *personnel* of the Embassy. They accuse the English of want of sincerity, and of giving bad advice to the Turks; all the opposition the latter make to the demands of Russia is attributed to English influence. They consider the advice of England prejudicial to Turkey, for it will precipitate matters and cut short her existence.

The Russians appear to have made sure of the neutrality of Germany by the promise of an increase of territory, as well as of that of Italy. They say, "Austria is trying to play a double game, but we will force her to remain quiet; the circumstances are favourable in every way, and Russia is quite ready to go to war, and settle once for for all 'la question d'Orient.'"

The Russians are desired not to get their things out of the steamers, as they look upon their departure as only postponed for two or three weeks.

M. Gorcoff is once more sent into Bulgaria, by order of the General.

No. 107.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1280. Confidential.)
Constantinople, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

SIR STEPHEN LAKEMAN, who, as your Lordship was informed by Colonel Mansfield, was sent here upon some kind of mission by the Roumanian Government, has called upon me several times to explain his object.

His statements are not very clear, but I understand him to say he is empowered to offer to place the whole military force of the Principalities at the disposal of the Porte upon certain conditions.

All that he distinctly said would be expected would be the recognition in favour of Prince Charles of the right of having a diplomatic Representative at Constantinople, such as are kept here by other countries.

If this is promised His Highness will be ready to resist the passage of a Russian army through the Principalites, and he would send a corps to watch the Servians during the armistice; but, on being questioned by me, he partly admitted that his project was based on the calculation that some of the Western Powers would come forward to resist a Russian attack.

I told him not to proceed upon this assumption.

He said this afternoon that his overtures had been favourably received by Midhat Pasha, and that the Porte would send two agents to Bucharest carrying a letter to the Prince, with which he would be much pleased, and who would enter into the subject in question.

I am in doubt how far Sir Stephen is entitled to speak in the name of the Roumanian Government, for, although Colonel Mansfield stated him to have been sent by them, Prince Ghika, Prince Charles' official Agent, declares himself authorized to deny his being in any way employed by them.

Sir Stephen, on the other hand, speaks of Prince Ghika sometimes as a tool of Russia and sometimes as a spy of Prince Charles, who is entirely distrusted by M. Bratiano and his Government.

I listen to what he says, but am reserved in my answers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 108.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1281.)
Constantinople, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose an account given in the local newspapers of a demonstration made some days ago in honour of General Klapka.

It was, I imagine, intended to be a sort of response to the attempt of the students at Pesth to make a demonstration of sympathy with Turkey before the House of the Ottoman Consul.

The chief person who took part in it was Chefket Pasha, the rest being unknown individuals.

It was a most insignificant affair, which, however, could not have been permitted by the Porte if it had been aware of what was intended.

It has given offence at the Russian Embassy, and General Ignatiew has told Safvet Pasha that the Porte will do well to be careful that it should not be repeated, for if it is, he will at once leave Constantinople.

General Klapka, who came here on speculative business, and without any political object, has gone to a village on the Bosphorus, to be out of the way of any further demonstration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 108.

Newspaper Extract.

UNE MANIFESTATION.—AINSI que nous l'avons annoncé hier, une députation, composée de 25 délégués de Stamboul et accompagnée d'un grand nombre de personnes de toute nationalité, ainsi que des élèves des Ecoles Impériales Militaires et de Médecine, s'est rendue, Mercredi, vers 10 heures à la Turque, à l'Hôtel de Byzance, où demeure le Général Klapka.

Cette manifestion avait pour but d'exprimer au grand patriote Hongrois les sentiments de reconnaissance de la population Ottomane pour les sympathies que la Hongrie ne cesse de montrer à l'égard de la Turquie dans ces circonstances critiques.

Le Général Klapka a reçu la députation dans le grand salon de l'hôtel. Le président, Général de Division Chevket Pacha, a présenté une adresse renfermée dans un étui élégant de satin vert et rouge, orné de broderies d'or, et dont voici le texte authentique:

"Au Défenseur de la Forteresse de Comorn, le Général Klapka, Représentant des Nobles Madgyars:

"Général,

"Recevez ici l'expression des sentiments de respect et de sympathie que nous entretenons tous pour votre personne.

"Soyez le bienvenu dans nos murs, et dans nos maisons, qui vous sont toutes ouvertes, comme le sont nos cœurs.

"Quand vous retournerez en Hongrie, dites à la nation Madgyare, dont la jeunesse studieuse vient de saluer la nôtre, que la nation des Osmanlis (quoiqu'en aient dit des calomniateurs) a gardé dans toutes ses couches profondes la force et les vertus antiques qui l'illustrèrent jadis, et que vous aussi, Madgyars, sentez en vous-même. Nous ne sommes pas plus que vous un peuple vieilli, mais un peuple jeune, dont les vices du bas Empire Romain (ou Byzantin) avaient seulement amolli les chefs. Aujourd'hui nous sommes réveillés, debout, et libres!

"Nous avons un Sultan digne de nous conduire, et nos vaillants soldats répondent à ceux qui nous appelaient déjà une nation morte. Vienne le jour des dévouements suprêmes, le jour de la vraie grande lutte contre un ennemi séculaire et perfide, on verra mieux encore que nous n'avons pas dégénéré.

"Vous et nous, Madgyars et Turcs-Osmanlis, sommes les derniers venus dans le groupe des peuples sédentaires Européens. Il y a mille ans vous y êtes arrivés, vous, par le nord de la Mer Noire, pendant que nous, tournant cette même mer et le Caucase par le sud, nous pénétrons dans l'Anatolie par les portes Caspiennes, où le

voisinage de Bagdad, capitale des Califes, nous fit Musulmans. Mais avant ces mille années, nous étions ensemble dans l'Asie de l'Oural et de l'Altaï, voisins et frères de race; ensemble nous fîmes partie de la Confédération des peuples d'Attila.

"Mille détails de mœurs, de caractère, de langage, subsistent comme preuves de notre communauté d'origine. Ce ne sont pas les guerres auxquelles nous nous sommes livrés les uns contre les autres, il y a quelques siècles dans un temps encore barbare, pour la possession du Danube (guerres mêlées de grands succès et de grands revers pour chacun de nous), qui nous empêcheront de nous estimer mutuellement; au contraire. Quand nous avons été, chez vous, envahisseurs, ce n'a pas été comme les féroces Mongols qui nous y avaient précédés (l'histoire est là qui le proclame); nous vous avons conservé toutes vos libertés, et cela pendant plusieurs siècles.

"Frères Madgyars! le Mongol revient, après avoir mis sur son visage un masque Slave, et il nous menace également tous deux.

"Donc, des sommets de nos Balkans aux sommets de vos Carpathes, par dessus les deux rives Danubiennes dont chacune est naturellement disignée à la défense de l'un de nous, étendons chacun notre bras et serrons-nous la main. Qui pourrait ensuite passer malgré nous, en employant la force?

"L'Allemagne, que nous rassurerons sur le libre parcours de sa grande route commerciale vers l'Orient, nous regardera bienveillante; et la vraie Slavie de l'avenir (la Slavie sédentaire et non conquérante, dont le centre de gravité est à Kiew) tressaillera d'espérance.

"L'Europe sera délivrée de l'insupportable cauchemar qui pèse sur elle depuis près d'un siècle et pourra renvoyer aux travaux de la paix les trois millions d'hommes qu'elle est obligée de maintenir debout et toujours armés.

"Notre alliance ne manquerait pas, au besoin, d'aides puissantes.

"Au nom des 250,000,000 de Musulmans dont nous avons, nous, à défendre les grands intérêts, nous ouvrirons largement Constantinople à tous les Congrès Internationaux, régulateurs des rapports futurs à nouer plus étroitement entre tous les hommes de la race blanche et monothéiste.

"Frères Madgyars! Frères Hongrois! acceptez la main, qui fut toujours franche et loyale, que nous vous tendons.

"Après cela, notre Assemblée Nationale, bientôt constituée, pourra s'ouvrir en faisant solennellement au monde cette déclaration:

"La question d'Orient est résolue.

"Salut et amitié aux nobles Madgyares.

"Salut au Général Klapka."

(Les Représentants de plus de 10,000 Osmanlis, notables de Constantinople, délégués par la presque totalité des quartiers de cette ville.)

Le Général Klapka, après avoir exprimé sa profonde reconnaissance de ce témoignage sympathique pour sa personne et pour son pays, a continué à peu près dans les termes suivants:

"Nous étions adversaires jadis, c'est vrai, mais depuis bientôt deux siècles il s'est établi entre nous des liens d'une sincère amitié. Nous vous devons de la reconnaissance pour la protection que votre pays hospitalier n'a jamais cessé d'accorder à ceux de nos compatriotes qui, victimes de nos luttes pour le maintien de nos libertés nationales, étaient venus chercher asile parmi vous.

"Sachez que les dépouilles mortelles d'un de nos grands héros, défenseur de ces libertés, du Comte Tœkœly, reposent à Ismidt! que le tombeau d'un autre héros non moins grand, du Prince Rakœzy et celui de sa mère héroïque, Hélène Zrinyi, se trouvent ici, à Galata, dans le couvent des Lazaristes!

"En 1849, vous avez sauvé nombre de nos plus illustres patriotes, en les protégeant contre la fureur de leurs persécuteurs. Nous vous devons de la reconnaissance.

"Mais il y a aussi l'intérêt commun qui nous engage en plus à faire des vœux ardents pour le succès des armes Ottomanes, dans la lutte énergique que vous soutenez. Nous sommes menacés par le même danger que vous, et, certes, si la Turquie venait à succomber, ses ennemis si acharnés ne manqueraient pas de tourner leurs armes contre nous-mêmes.

"Nous sommes comme vous un obstacle à la réalisation des projets de conquête et d'agrandissement que nos adversaires communs nourrissent de longue date. Nous avons reconnu, dès le commencement de la lutte, que la liberté, pour ceux qui vous attaquaient, n'était qu'un prétexte et qu'il ne s'agissait en effet pour eux que d'aplanir

les voies pour faire triompher le despotisme. Et c'est pour cela surtout que la Hongrie a si hautement manifesté ses vives sympathies pour vous.

"Espérons qu'avec nous, l'Europe finira par comprendre de quel côté se trouvent les véritables intérêts de l'humanité et qu'elle se déclarera à l'unanimité pour vous en assurant ainsi le rétablissement de la paix.

"De votre côté, la paix une fois rétablie, vous prouverez au monde, j'en suis convaincu, que le grand principe de la religion Musulmane s'accorde parfaitement avec les principes humanitaires proclamés comme base de tout progrès par le monde moderne.

"Vous êtes aussi heureux d'avoir pour Souverain un Prince éclairé, qui, dévoué aux véritables intérêts de ses peuples, vous conduira vers cette ère nouvelle qui alors s'ouvrira, non-seulement pour vous, mais également pour tous les peuples habitant l'Est de l'Europe, puisqu'en effet la question d'Orient se trouvera ainsi résolue."

Après cet échange de discours le Général Klapka a parcouru les salons où se trouvaient les élèves des écoles militaires et de médecine, en les remerciant vivement de leurs sentiments de sympathies pour la Hongrie.

La Députation s'est retirée aux cris de "Vivent les Hongrois!" ("Yachasseun Madjarlai!")

No. 109.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1282.)

Constantinople, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, copies of further reports, which I have received from Sir Arnold Kemball on the military operations of the Turkish army since October 29th.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 109.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Head-Quarter Camp, before Alexinatz, November 5, 1876.

Sir,

THE subjoined seven telegrams have made your Excellency acquainted with the course of events in this camp since the battle of Sunday, the 29th ultimo.

As regards the charge brought by the Servians against the Turks of continuing to bombard Deligrad after the white flag had been hoisted there, the fact that no such flag was observed by the latter, which I can with confidence attest, must suffice to clear them from the wilful offence implied. *Primâ facie* it may be believed the course of negotiations at Constantinople for an armistice being well known that the Turks would not have delayed a moment to assume possession of a post which formed the key of the enemy's defences in the valley of the Morava, and which, owing to such delay, they might justly apprehend, must remain, as it has done, in the hands of the Servians. The facts are these:—

On the Sunday afternoon after the enemy's position had been captured, the only shots fired in the direction of Deligrad were fired from the guns which the Servians had abandoned served by the Turkish infantry, but so abortive was their practice, the shells falling at almost point blank range, that it was discontinued after the third discharge.

It was not till Monday that the Turkish artillery could be brought to the front, those guns advanced by Nedjeb Pasha on the previous day being still out of range of the forts of Deligrad, and being, moreover, fully occupied in engaging an enemy's battery on the right bank of the Morava, over against the inferior crest which was assailed by his division. On Monday, I am credibly informed, for I had myself gone to our left front to assist at the intended occupation of Krushowatz, the Turkish artillery, being now in position, did occasionally open fire on the forts of Deligrad in order to lead the enemy to unmask his strength, but the few guns employed, the extreme range, and the character of the ground covered by those forts,

forming; as it does, an intrenched camp, exclude the idea of a bombardment, though such bombardment, had it been attempted, would have been quite justifiable.

On Tuesday, during the occupation of Alexinatz, the fire of the Turkish artillery in the direction of Deligrad was almost suspended, and on Wednesday a heavy snow storm on the previous night, followed by rain and sleet during the day, so effectually barred all offensive operations, as even to prevent a cavalry reconnaissance being pushed forward to ascertain if the forts there, as suspected, had also been evacuated.

Again the story of the white flag would be hardly consistent with the fact, that after the armistice had been announced, and while a flag of truce was on its way to the Turkish camp, as reported in my telegram of Thursday, a Servian force, estimated at three or four battalions, attempted to re-occupy a village in the valley of the Moravitza, which was held by the Broussali Redif battalion. This attempt was checked by the flank movement of Turkish troops from the adjoining crest, but not until Major Mahmoud Bey had been killed, and fifteen men of the Broussali battalion more or less severely wounded. When called upon by Ahmed Ayoub Pasha for explanation the Servian parlementaire suggested that the incident must be owing to ignorance on the part of some subordinate officer of the conclusion of the armistice. It was immediately made the subject of complaint to Constantinople by Ahmed Ayoub Pasha.

Assuming, as I am disposed to assume, that Deligrad has been erroneously named in your Excellency's telegram for Alexinatz, my remarks would, nevertheless, apply in the main with increased force to the latter place. On Sunday, during the battle opposite Deligrad, the Servian batteries covering Alexinatz were engaged all day with the Turkish batteries opposed to them, and I cannot doubt that from the latter many shells were thrown into the town (which, by the way, was known to have been already vacated by most of the inhabitants), but on Monday, the Servian batteries ceasing to fire, the fire of the Turkish batteries was restricted to occasional shots, and at 9 o'clock on Tuesday morning the Circassians brought intelligence that the place had been evacuated. It is only fair to assume that between Sunday night and Tuesday morning the interval of time did not more than suffice for the removal* of the guns, ammunition, provisions, and stores with which the position must have been stocked, and seeing the vital importance of its possession to the Turks, it might be inferred that they would only too readily have hailed its surrender; whereas, as announced by me, up to the hour of evacuation, active preparations were being made for the attack of the place which it was supposed would involve a serious struggle. The necessity of providing winter quarters for their troops had also formed an additional motive to the Turks to abstain from bombardment, and, as a matter of fact, my aide-de-camp and I, being among the first to enter the town, remarked upon the little injury which had been done to the buildings by the Turkish fire. One shell only had struck the church, and though our inspection was necessarily superficial, we observed no other instance of a roof being injured. The long range exceeding three miles may further account for this result. Since the armistice I affirm that not a shot has been fired by the Turks, save in self-defence, to repel the Servian attack of Thursday.

The Turkish loss on Sunday last is officially stated at 71 killed and 515 wounded. I could form no estimate of the Servian losses along so extended a line; they were certainly more considerable, and included a large proportion of foreigners. That no prisoners should have been taken on that day is exceptional only in contrast with the very small numbers captured on other occasions within my experience, and is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that on those occasions the individuals spared were generally discovered in thick cover after the enemy's retreat, while on Sunday the fight took place in immediate proximity to the lines at Deligrad. During any engagement I fear little quarter has been given or received on either side.

Since Tuesday night a succession of snow storms has rendered the country and roads almost impracticable and has subjected the Commissariat Department to a strain, which, separated as are the head-quarters of the several divisions far apart, it will hardly sustain throughout the winter. Some battalions have found shelter in Alexinatz and the several villages occupied on Tuesday, but the major portion of this force is still bivouacked in the snow. Forage is scarcely obtainable, but wood, so essential to the soldier both for building huts and for fires, is still abundant.

I may mention that on Tuesday, in anticipation of the further advance of this

* The removal must have been effected by the Banja road, leading from Alexinatz to Deligrad up the valley of the Moravitza, which is screened from view by the ridge in the shape of a huge glacis which separates that valley from the valley of the Morava.

force, six battalions of infantry and a battery of artillery were moved up from Nisch to garrison Alexinatz, but these troops will now return to their former quarters.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. KEMBALL.

Telegram (A.)

October 31, 1876.

Tuesday 9 A.M.—Occupation Krushevatz has been postponed by the direction of Abdul Kerim Pasha until capture Alexinatz which has been postponed to-morrow. Servian feeling against Russians manifest all occasions.

Telegram (B.)

October 31, 1876.

Tuesday 6 P.M.—Telegram this morning hardly despatched, and Nedjib Pasha gone right front to make arrangements for simultaneous demonstration to-morrow in the direction of Deligrad, when Circassians reported both Alexinatz and Krushevatz evacuated.

Of the 16 men and women found Alexinatz, 4 men killed, remainder well-treated. No guns. Deligrad supposed to be evacuated also, but to-morrow will show.

Hope this terminates this miserable war.

Telegram (C.)

November 1, 1876.

Wednesday 6 P.M.—Enemy's retreat most opportune. Snow-storm last night. Movements impracticable till weather clears. Evacuation Deligrad not yet ascertained —doubtful.

Precautions completely successful to prevent incendiarism Alexinatz, and, hope, numerous villages in the direction of Deligrad, henceforward absolutely necessary Turks.

Telegram (D.)

November 2, 1876.

Thursday 6 P.M.—Conclusion armistice two months with particulars announced by Porte. Cessation hostilities immediately ordered. Nevertheless enemy encroaching lost ground, attacked outposts, killed and wounded Major about 20 men, just as officer came from Tchernaieff ask if Turks have received news of armistice. In explanation said probably ignorance subordinates. Snow has fallen continuously since ten last night.

Telegram (E.)

November 3, 1876.

Friday 7 P.M.—Communication by telegraph has been received from Rustchuk, Tchernaieff was missing since battle Sunday. Officer yesterday said came from officer commanding Deligrad, he did not say from Tchernaieff. Nothing to report. Snow has fallen heavily during day.

Telegram (F.)

November 4, 1876.

Saturday 7 P.M.—Your four telegrams just received together by express from Nisch; communication by telegraph has been interrupted. No one taken prisoner late battle. No excesses whatever have been committed. I visited captured heights as soon as ceased firing and did not observe white flag Deligrad. No bombardment Deligrad; but Monday, Tuesday, until Alexinatz occupied, Turks fired occasionally at forts. Obviously if flag hoisted Turks would have gladly accepted surrender. When Servians found Turks did not observe flag, why did they not send flag of truce as on Thursday, or was not I communicated with? Very bad weather.

Telegram (G.)

November 5, 1876.

Sunday 7 P.M.—Horvatovitch yesterday by the direction of Servian Commander-in-chief proposed Azeez Pasha definition of their respective lines. Azeez Pasha pleaded incompetency of Divisional Commander, but Ahmed Ayoub Pasha to-day has sanctioned arrangement provisionally on that side, if practicable, pending arrival Commissioners from Constantinople. Still very bad weather.

No. 110.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1283.)

Constantinople, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a further report from Mr. Baring, respecting the proceedings of the Commission at Philippopoli.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 110.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopolis, November 12, 1876.

Sir,

SINCE I last had the honour of reporting to your Excellency, Ahmet Agha and Alish Pelivan have been before the Commission twice to be confronted with different witnesses, the severe illness of the former having somewhat retarded the inquiry.

Beklach Mitto and Achmet Tchaoush have also been up for confrontation.

On the 9th instant, the question of the existence or non-existence of crime at Batak was discussed by the Commission, but no decision was arrived at, the suggestion of the President that the discussion should be adjourned till after the preparation of the "fesleke" or summary of the case being adopted.

When this document is once prepared, the whole of the Batak case might be brought to a conclusion in a very short time, as the Commission is not likely to obtain more evidence than it is already in possession of.

The general features of the Dervent case were also discussed on the 9th, and the existence of crime was strongly insisted on by Wassa Effendi, who very rightly observed that the only question now was to discover the guilty.

Two other persons besides Tossoun Bey are in prison for this affair, viz., Halim Pehlivan and Deli Hussein, and it has almost been decided to imprison five others.

A few days ago, three Tchorbadjis from Carlovo waited on the Commission to beg for the release of Tossoun Bey. It is somewhat strange that one of them is the man who, when I visited Carlovo alone, complained more bitterly than anyone of Tossoun Bey's tyranny. These men also asked that Hassan Effendi, who is now Mudir of the village, should be retained as Kaimakam.

Considering what I have heard of the feelings of the Christians of Carlovo, I do not think that the step now taken by these Tchorbadjis can be looked upon as prompted by a sincere desire to see him restored to them.

In one of his recent examinations, Tossoun Bey produced a document with a number of seals annexed to it, which, he declared, relieved him of all responsibility in the Dervent affair.

The purport of this paper is that the inhabitants of certain villages, having heard that Dervent was in a state of revolt, called upon Tossoun Bey to lead them against it, and declared that they were ready to accept all the responsibility. Now, Tossoun Bey declares that when he went to Dervent he had no intention of attacking it, the force of circumstances alone obliging him to do so. If the document is genuine, this portion of his defence is disposed of, as the villagers distinctly ask him to lead them to the attack, so that when he set out he must have perfectly well known what he was going to undertake.

The Commission has also examined Tumbrushli Achmet Agha, who aided in the destruction of Peroustitza, and whose brothers, Ismail and Adil Agha, destroyed the perfectly innocent villages of Boicovo and Dedovo. The two latter have, unfortunately, not been arrested. Achmed Agha was Kir Meemouri of Tumbrush.

Since the 26th ultimo, when M. Bilizikji fell ill, I have been deprived of the services of a dragoman, as unfortunately just as that gentleman was recovering his strength, he was obliged suddenly to leave for Constantinople on account of the dangerous illness of his wife. The consequence is that it is by no means easy for me to follow the proceedings of the Commission.

M. Bilizikji was in the habit of taking down the important depositions word for word, and then translating them, so that I had always documents on hand from which I could refresh my memory; but now, when any discussion arises, while the members of the Commission have the depositions to refer to, I am obliged to trust entirely to my recollection for things that happened more than ten days ago, during which time, of course, a mass of evidence has been taken.

I should say that, on the whole, of late, the country has become somewhat more secure than it was a month ago; at least, I do not hear of the almost daily acts of violence which were reported to me when I first came here. Perhaps this may be in some degree attributable to the newly organized cavalry patrols. As your Excellency is aware, I have not visited villages lately myself, and I only found my assertion on what I hear here, and on the fact that of late no complaints have been made to me.

The Mutessarif has undertaken to get the property stolen in this district restored to its owners, and the Commission has consequently handed that extremely difficult task over to him.

Some days before this proposal was made, I suggested to Saadoulah Bey that the best plan to adopt would be to assemble the heads of the heads of the Turkish villages which were known to have furnished the bands of Bashi-Bozouks, and to make them responsible for the restoration of the property.

This measure, if vigorously applied, would, I feel sure, have the effect of making those who had taken no part in the plundering oblige those that had to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. If, after a suitable delay, none or only a small portion of the property had been restored, the Turkish villages would have to make up the value of what had been lost.

As it is perfectly well known whence the destroyers of most of the Bulgarian villages came, this plan would not be attended by such very great difficulty.

I do not know what plans the Mutessarif intends following, but one is bound to observe that, as his authority does not extend beyond the limits of his own sandjak, and as there is much stolen property in the vilayets of Salonica and Sofia, it will be out of his power to get back all that has been lost.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WALTER BARING.

No. 111.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1287.)

Constantinople, November 17, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract from the "Levant Herald" giving an account of some Turkish soldiers now in one of the Constantinople hospitals who have been mutilated by the Montenegrins.

There are similar cases in the other hospitals of the capital, and the account given in the paper of the description by these unfortunate men of the treatment undergone by themselves, and their companions, has been repeated by them to several Englishmen.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 111.

Extract from the "Levant Herald" of November 17, 1876.

MONTENEGRIN HUMANITY.—In the late affair of Medun, when the Turkish force under the command of Mahmoud Pasha was repulsed, eleven prisoners fell into the hands of the Montenegrins. Seven of these men have arrived in Constantinople, and are now lodged in the barracks at Scutari, except one who is receiving hospitality at

the hands of the Sultan in the palace of Dolmabaghtché. Out of the seven, five have been mutilated; the nose and upper lip having been cut off. They further bear numerous scars of knife-wounds, of which one man has twenty-four. They give a horrible account of the treatment they received. In the room where they were detained, all suffering severely from battle-wounds, the Montenegrins held a drunken orgie. They danced round the room with drawn knives, slashing and stabbing at the unfortunate prisoners, with each cut crying, "Take that, Turk!" The seven who have survived state that, of the other four, two were burned alive before their eyes, and of the remaining two, one had his hands and arms skinned by the Montenegrins, who then poured petroleum over the raw flesh and set it on fire, and the other was compelled to place his hands on a table while the Montenegrins chopped them away inch by inch with their knives, and when the knives proved too light they took hatchets until the arms were chopped away to the elbows. Under this treatment the two men died in great agony. On the arrival here of the survivors, the Sultan heard the pitiful tale, and asked to see one of the men, and the least suffering of the number, a fine stripling of 18, from the neighbourhood of Smyrna, was accordingly taken before His Majesty. The Sultan was deeply moved at the account given, as we understand with great simplicity, by this youth, who had escaped mutilation, and conversed with the lad at great length. He then ordered that a room should be given him in the palace, and that the palace doctors should tend him. His wounds are only battle-wounds; one in the body; one which has shattered the elbow-joint; and one bullet-wound in the cheek, the ball having entered by the upper jaw and passed out through the mouth, slightly injuring the tongue, but breaking none of the teeth. The Sultan has desired Temple Bey, the physician of his household, to visit the wounded men at Scutari and to report to His Majesty their progress. We understand that photographs of the unhappy objects of the mutilating process will be taken by order of the Sultan.

No. 112.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1288.)
Constantinople, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE spoken to the Minister of War of the discredit incurred by the Porte by allowing so much time to pass without an investigation of the charges against Chefket Pasha, and I told him that, as the General professed to have in his pocket orders which would show that he had done no more than carry out his instructions, his continued impunity would lead to a belief in the truth of his assertion.

The Minister replied that until Mr. Baring's report had been read before the Council of Ministers neither he nor most of his colleagues knew how seriously compromised Chefket Pasha was.

The Pasha had called upon him a day or two ago, and had asked whether it was true that he was to be severely punished.

He had answered that if the charges were proved by the Court which would have to examine them the penalty pronounced, however severe, would certainly be carried out.

The Minister gave me positive assurances that he would do nothing to shield Chefket Pasha or any other officer who had exceeded his duty.

When the Philippopolis Commission has reported upon the occurrences at Bojadjideni the time will come for proceeding against any person implicated in them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 113.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1289.)
Constantinople, November 17, 1876.

My Lord,

I WENT to the Porte two days ago, where I met the Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha, and Safvet Pasha, upon whom I strongly urged the necessity of at once accepting the proposed Conference.

I need not repeat the arguments I used, but I left them satisfied that they would give way, and signify their acceptance.

The question was submitted the next day to the Council of Ministers, which was in favour of the acceptation, but said that it must be submitted to the Sultan.

His Majesty consequently presided over a Council, at which the opinion was again favourable, but coupled with a decision that it must be referred to a Grand Council, which, to-day being Friday, cannot be held till to-morrow.

I am, however, assured that there is no doubt of the decision being the same as that arrived at by the Ministerial Council.

I this morning sent to Safvet Pasha the substance of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, and he has promised that by to-morrow afternoon the final decision shall be taken.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 114.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, November 27.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le* 15 *Novembre*, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-jointe, pour votre information, la traduction d'un télégramme que la Sublime Porte vient de recevoir du Gouverneur-Général de Bosnie.

Ainsi que vous le relèverez de la lecture de cette pièce, l'œuvre de pacification avance rapidement; et, si elle n'est pas déjà achevée, cela a pour cause une situation qu'il n'est pas en notre pouvoir de faire cesser.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 114.

The Governor-General of the Province of Bosnia to the Sublime Porte.

(Traduction.)
(Télégraphique.) *Le* 18 *Octobre* (*vieux style*), 1876.

REÇU télégramme de votre Altesse du 14 Octobre.

LES insurgés qui avaient attaqué dernièrement en grand nombre le district de Keloneh ont été dispersés; les grands Balkans de Banyaluka et de Travnik ont été également purgés de leur présence; ceux qui ont échappé à la poursuite de nos troupes se sont enfuis dans la direction de la Dalmatie et de la Croatie.

Cependant, les troupes auxiliaires ne se sont pas plus tôt dispersées dans leurs quartiers respectifs que les malfaiteurs font leur apparition sur notre territoire par groupes de 10 à 50 et même dans certaines localités de 100 à 200; ils rôdent à Grahova, à Arnsa, à Ghlamontk (Travnik), à Kozara et à Pétrofteha (Bekhé); ils attaquent périodiquement, et chaque fois que l'occasion s'en présente, les villages où il est impossible de cantonner des troupes pour longtemps; et, en attendant l'arrivée de forces militaires, ils ne manquent pas de commettre des déprédations.

Des colonnes mobiles ont été organisés. Nous nous occupons, en ce moment, de la destruction des bandes.

La prolongation de cet état de choses a pour cause le libre passage assuré sur la frontière Autrichienne.

On ne saurait indiquer exactement le nombre, tantôt diminuant, tantôt augmentant, des insurgés; seulement, le Colonel Serbe Despotovitch a sous son commandement 5,000 hommes environ, composés de huit à dix détachements échelonnés sur différents points. A ces forces viennent se joindre de tous côtés des aventuriers étrangers, de telle sorte que les insurgés attaquent parfois au nombre de 3 à 4,000 des bourgs considérables.

Parmi ces gens, il se trouve bien peu d'indigènes; la plupart sont des étrangers. Ayant pour repaires les Grands Balkans et les montagnes sus-mentionnées, ils rôdent le plus souvent aux environs des confins de la Dalmatie et de la Croatie, afin de faciliter leur fuite en cas de poursuite de notre part.

L'ordre est pour le moment parfait dans les arrondissements de Zvornik et de Sérajevo. Les Monténégrins et les Serbes formés en bandes de 50, de 100, et même parfois de 3 à 500 hommes, franchissent la frontière, les premiers du côté de Tachlidja, d'Akod, de Banna (Novi-Bazaar), et les derniers du côté des localités sises entre Novi-Varech et Vichigrad. Parmi les agresseurs il y en a qui sont battus et mis en fuite par les colonnes mobiles; il y en a aussi qui, sans se battre, s'enfuient devant les troupes qui les poursuivent, en emportant les biens et les bestiaux tombés entre leurs mains.

Pour le moment, il n'y a eu aucune réunion considérable de forces insurgées, ni engagement sérieux. Le peuple n'en continue pas moins à se plaindre des dommages qu'il subit.

No. 115.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 550.)

St. Petersburgh, November 20, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith an Imperial Ukase, authorizing the issue of an internal loan for 100,000,000 roubles (nominal) at 5 per cent.; as also the prospectus of the same.

I likewise annex an official communication of the Minister of Finance, published in the official "Gazette," explaining the motives for this loan, and appealing to public opinion for its support.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 115.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{7}{19}$, 1876.

Oukase de Sa Majesté l'Empereur au Ministre des Finances.

POUR couvrir les dépenses extraordinaires imposées au Trésor de l'Etat par suite des événements politiques, nous vous ordonnons, conformément à votre rapport approuvé par le comité spécial, de procéder à une nouvelle émission de billets de banque à 5 pour cent, au moyen d'une souscription publique pour un capital nominal de 100,000,000, sur les bases ci-dessous:—

1. La souscription pour les billets ci-dessus mentionnés sera ouverte à la Banque de l'Etat et dans quelques succursales et comptoirs, à votre choix et sur les bases que vous aurez préalablement approuvées.

2. Ces billets jouiront des droits et priviléges affectés aux billets de banque à 5 pour cent de la première émission, en vertu du règlement, revêtu de la sanction suprême le 1 Septembre, 1859; l'amortissement sera opéré dans le courant de trente-sept ans au moyen de tirages annuels pour des sommes déterminées, sans que les propriétaires soient autorisés à demander par des déclarations que leurs billets soient compris dans un tirage plus rapproché ou plus éloigné.

3. Les billets émis seront portés au grand-livre de la dette publique et la commission d'amortissement fera à la Banque de l'Etat des versements annuels de 5 pour cent d'intérêt et d'un pour cent d'amortissement sur le capital nominal jusqu'à remboursement intégral du capital nominal des billets susmentionnés, savoir cent millions de roubles.

(Signé) ALEXANDRE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 115.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{7}{19}$, 1876.

Banque de l'Etat.

Avis.—AUX termes de l'Oukase signé par Sa Majesté l'Empereur le 6 Novembre, 1876, M. le Ministre des Finances a chargé la Banque de l'Etat d'ouvrir une souscription publique pour la quatrième émission de billets de Banque 5 pour cent de l'Etat pour une somme nominale de 100,000,000 de roubles, aux conditions qui suivent:

Les dits billets sont émis au porteur et seront de la valeur de 100, 500, 1,000 et 5,000 roubles. L'échange de billets d'une coupure contre les billets d'une autre coupure n'est pas autorisé. Chaque billet sera muni de coupons semestriels destinés à toucher les intérêts semestriels, qui seront de 2½ pour cent par semestre, payables le 10 Mai et le 10 Novembre de chaque année.

Les intérêts des billets commenceront à courir à partir du 10 Novembre, 1876; l'échéance du premier coupon sera le 10 Mai, 1877.

Les billets de cette émission seront amortis au moyen de tirages, conformément aux règlements, dans un délai de 37 ans; les billets sortis au tirage seront remboursés à leur prix nominal. Les tirages auront lieu chaque année au mois d'Août, à partir du mois d'Août, 1877.

Conditions pour la Souscription aux Billets de Banque 5 pour cent de l'Etat, du capital nominal de 100,000,000 de Roubles, émission de 1876, autorisée par l'Oukase signé par Sa Majesté l'Empereur.

1. La souscription sera ouverte les 9, 10, 11 et 12 Novembre depuis dix heures du matin jusqu'à quatre heures de l'après-midi à la Banque de l'Etat à St. Pétersbourg et aux mêmes dates au comptoir de la Banque de l'Etat à Moscou.

Tous les autres comptoirs, ainsi que les succursales de la Banque, accepteront, pendant la durée d'une semaine, à partir du jour fixé pour l'ouverture de la souscription, les déclarations relatives au désir de faire l'acquisition des billets de Banque de la quatrième émission à leur prix de souscription. La Banque est autorisée à satisfaire à ces déclarations, dans la mesure du possible, en ayant recours aux billets qui seront réservés dans ce but par la Banque, à son compte et qui seront prélevés sur la masse totale des billets offerts à la souscription.

2. Les billets sont émis au prix de 92 roubles pour 100 roubles valeur nominale.

3. Au moment de la souscription, il est versé, en guise de nantissement, 10 pour cent de la somme nominale souscrite, en argent comptant ou en valeurs à intérêts que la Banque de l'Etat et ses comptoirs sont autorisés à accepter comme nantissement d'avances et au taux d'engagement auquel sont délivrés les dites avances.

Des quittances spéciales seront délivrées aux souscripteurs, comme certificat de la réception de ces nantissements.

4. Sept jours après la fin de la souscription, on procédera à la répartition définitive.

5. Dans le courant de huit jours après la publication des résultats de la répartition, les souscripteurs doivent verser, sur 100 roubles nominaux, la somme de 25 roubles, en compte de laquelle seront déduits les 10 pour cent versés comme nantissement lors de la souscription; à cette occasion les valeurs déposées en nantissement doivent être remplacées par de l'argent comptant et les quittances délivrées lors de la souscription doivent être échangées contre des certificats temporaires.

6. Les versements ultérieurs à faire doivent être opérés aux termes suivants:

Le 10 Décembre, 1876	15 pour cent du capital nominal.		
10 Janvier, 1877	15	„	„
10 Février, 1877	15	„	„
10 Mars, 1877	15	„	„
11 Avril, 1877	Les 7	„	restant.

Les versements, dont les termes viennent d'être indiqués, seront reçus avant l'échéance de ces termes, avec escompte de 5 pour cent pour tout le temps depuis le jour où sera effectué le versement avant terme jusqu'au jour où il aurait dû l'être.

7. Les souscripteurs qui n'auront pas versé au terme voulu les paiements indiqués perdront leur droit sur tous les versements précédents et les certificats temporaires qui leur auront été délivrés deviennent nuls.

8. Les certificats temporaires qui auront effectué tous les versements dont les termes sont échus, jouiront de tous les droits reconnus aux billets eux-mêmes.

(Signé) E. LAMANSKY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 115.

Extract from the from the "Official Gazette" of November 7/19, 1876.

(Translation.)

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION.—An Imperial Ukase has been published to-day respecting the issue of an internal 5 per cent. loan to the amount of 100 millions.

This loan has been sanctioned by His Imperial Majesty with the object of enabling the Imperial Exchequer to meet the extraordinary expenditure necessitated by present political circumstances.

The peaceful policy of the present reign, though requiring an increase of expenditure, has beneficially affected the economical development of the country during the past years, and enabled the Exchequer to meet all demands without having recourse to credit, and without burthening national resources by an increase of the national debt. The Government now seeks in the country itself the means for meeting the extraordinary expenditure required for the purpose of securing peace in the future, and in submitting this loan it is fully convinced that the object of this financial operation, undertaken by Imperial sanction, will, without doubt, meet with the sympathy of all classes of the Russian people.

The Ministry of Finance hopes that this sympathy will find expression in a general participation in the loan.

No. 116.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 551.)

St. Petersburgh, November 20, 1876.

My Lord,

I AM informed on reliable authority that the Russian squadron in the Mediterranean under the command of Admiral Boutakoff has received orders to sail for America.

I believe that this measure has been taken as a precaution in the event of a war between Russia and Turkey to prevent the possibility of the capture of the Russian squadron by the Turks.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 117.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 553. Confidential.)

St. Petersburgh, November 20, 1876.

My Lord,

SEVERAL organs of the press having erroneously expressed an opinion that the speech of the Emperor Alexander to the Deputation at Moscow was intended as a reply to the speech of the Earl of Beaconsfield at Guildhall, I may inform your Lordship that General Worder, the German Military Plenipotentiary at this Court told Colonel Wellesley this morning that the Emperor of Russia had stated to him that he had no knowledge of Lord Beaconsfield's speech when he addressed the civic authorities of Moscow.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 118.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 555.)

St. Petersburgh, November 21, 1876.

My Lord,

M. DE GIERS, by order of the Chancellor, sent me yesterday a copy of his despatch dated November 7/19, to Count Schouvaloff, in reply to your Lordship's despatch No. 554. of the 30th of October, of which I immediately sent to your Lordship a précis by telegraph.

The despatch of Prince Gortchakow,[a] as also a copy of a private letter addressed by his Highness to Count Schouvaloff, dated Livadia, November 3/October 22, were published in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of to-day, copies of which I have the honour to annex.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 118.

Prince Gortchakow to Count Schouvaloff.

(Particulière.)

Livadia, le 22 Octobre / 3 Novembre 1876.

M. le Comte,

JE vois avec une profonde surprise dans votre dernière lettre que les idées de nos convoitises sur Constantinople et du testament de Pierre le Grand continuent à hanter quelques esprits en Angleterre. J'avoue que je croyais ces vieilleries hors de crédit et reléguées avec la conquête des Indes par la Russie dans le domaine de la mythologie politique.

Combien de fois les Empereurs de Russie ont-ils répété publiquement qu'aucune annexion territoriale en Turquie n'entre dans leur politique, qu'ils en seraient fort embarrassés et que le maintien du *statu quo* de l'Orient était la meilleure des combinaisons? Or, vu notre forme de Gouvernement, la parole des Souverains n'est pas une déclaration Parlementaire révocable au gré des majorités. Elle engage leur loyauté personnelle. Combien de fois d'ailleurs les faits n'y ont-ils pas répondu? Si la Russie avait des convoitises, elle ferait ce que font les Puissances annexantes; elle se préparait en silence et agirait à la première occasion favorable. N'en a-t-elle pas eu l'occasion en 1829, en 1848, et en 1870, alors que l'attention et les forces de l'Europe étaient absorbées ailleurs? Quelles preuves faut-il donc donner aux Ministres Anglais d'un désintéressement fondé, non pas sur la vertu politique, mais sur la raison et le bon sens? S'ils voulaient oublier un moment qu'ils sont Anglais et se placer au point de vue Russe, nous leur demanderions, la main sur la conscience, s'ils conseilleraient au Gouvernement Impérial de rechercher la possession de Constantinople? La réponse ne serait pas douteuse. Pourquoi ne pas nous supposer autant de sens pratique qu'ils en ont?

La seule combinaison rationnelle pour les intérêts Russes, c'était de laisser les clefs de la Mer Noire entre des mains assez faibles pour ne pas fermer à la Russie ce débouché commercial et menacer sa sécurité. La domination Turque répondait à ce programme. Est-ce notre faute si les Turcs en ont abusé en rendant leur domination insupportable à leurs sujets Chrétiens? La politique Anglaise n'y a-t-elle pas contribué en excitant les défiances de la Porte contre la Russie par sa propre rivalité, et en l'aidant à faire de la force la seule base de son pouvoir?

Il est réellement pénible de voir deux grands Etats, qui unis pourraient régler les questions Européennes à leur mutuel avantage et à l'avantage de tous, troubler eux-mêmes et le monde par un antagonisme fondé sur des préjugés ou des malentendus.

Les résultats sont palpables. L'opinion publique Anglaise elle-même s'en est émue. A plus forte raison le sentiment national et Chrétien de la Russie, qui est trop voisine de ces contrées et a trop de liens avec elles pour se borner à des sympathies académiques.

Cela impose à l'Empereur des devoirs auxquels Sa Majesté ne saurait se soustraire. Mais ces devoirs sont partagés par toute l'Europe civilisée. Qui empêche l'Angleterre de s'y associer en se joignant à nous pour protéger les Chrétiens, et partager avec nous leur reconnaissance et leur sympathie? La question d'Orient n'est pas une question seulement Russe, elle intéresse le repos de l'Europe, la paix et la prospérité générale, l'humanité et la civilisation Chrétienne.

[a] See No. 101.

N'est-ce pás un terrain assez large pour que l'Angleterre s'y place à côté de la Russie? Ne l'y avons-nous pas conviée en appelant la présence de ses escadres dans les détroits? Quel gage de plus faut-il donner que nous n'avons aucune prétention à la possession exclusive de Constantinople?

L'Empereur vient de s'exprimer dans ce sens vis-à-vis de Lord A. Loftus avec la netteté et la loyauté de sa parole Souveraine. L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre en rendra certainement compte.

S'il faut réitérer cette assurance, faites-le, mon cher Comte, dans les termes les plus positifs. Vous serez certain d'interpréter fidèlement les intentions de notre auguste Maître.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) GORTCHACOW.

No. 119.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 558.) *St. Petersburgh, November* 21, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a *précis* in translation, by Mr. Michell, of an article from the "Golos," containing the substance of a letter from the correspondent of that journal at Belgrade, which serves as a key to the false intelligence propagated for some time by the organs of the Russian press in regard to the military operations in Servia.

It appears that a regular office was organized under the direction of the staff of General Tchernaieff for the invention and transmission of sensational telegrams with the view of exciting and maintaining the popular enthusiasm in Russia in favour of the Slavonic cause.

I am informed that General Tchernaieff has been forbidden to return to Russia, and that strict orders have been given at the several frontier stations to prevent his entry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 119.

Précis of Article in the "Golos" of November $\frac{7}{19}$, 1876.

THE "Golos" of the $\frac{7}{19}$th November, 1876, calls the special attention of its readers to the accompanying letter addressed to it from Belgrade. This letter, in its opinion, serves as a key to the false and mendacious intelligence which has for some time been systematically conveyed by General Tchernaieff's staff at Deligrad to several organs of the Russian press with the object of exciting and maintaining the enthusiasm of the Russian people on behalf of the southern Slavonians, and forcing the Russian Government to declare war against Turkey.

Letter addressed to the "Golos" by its Special Correspondent at Belgrade, and dated November $\frac{5}{17}$, 1876.

. . . . IT is impossible to conceal, it being well known to everyone, that General Tchernaieff, who was well acquainted with the ways and peculiarities of the Russian press, organized a "correspondence office," with the object of not allowing a single line of truth to reach Russia from the scene of military operations in Servia. I have been informed that designedly false telegrams and letters, which found ready admission into certain papers,* were systematically prepared and forwarded to St. Petersburgh. I do not blame the editors of the papers who inserted them, as the telegrams especially were sent at the cost of the Servian Government and bore the signatures of persons attached to Tchernaieff's staff, who were necessarily in a position to know the real facts.

* Allusion is here made to the "Russki Mir," "Novoe Vremia," and "Moscow Gazette," all violent Slavophil organs.—J. M.

All this was done with the best of intentions, partly with the object of glorifying Tchernaieff's capabilities as a military commander, but chiefly with the object of maintaining the enthusiasm of the Russian people, in the hope that this enthusiasm would force the Russian Government to declare war against Turkey.

By the establishment of this correspondence office General Tchernaieff aroused the exasperation of all the Servian Ministers, who regarded his proceedings at Deligrad as those of a distinct Government, distributing its bulletins abroad.

The Ministers were aware that this new Government made loans and invited contributions from abroad in its own name. The unlimited power, likewise, exercised by Tchernaieff in promoting his officers to superior grades weighed heavily on the material resources of Servia.

Tchernaieff spent the money sent from Russia entirely as he pleased, without rendering any accounts. The members of his personal chancery made it known far and wide that Tchernaieff was not only Commander-in-chief of the army, but that he was the incarnation of the idea of Slav emancipation, and that he who gave to Tchernaieff sacrificed at the altar of liberation of the Southern Slavs.

The result of all this was that, while great want and suffering existed at Belgrade, all the members of the "correspondence office" were extremely well paid for their services. The Servian Ministers lacked means for feeding starving children, whereas at Tchernaieff's head-quarters banquets were of daily occurrence and champagne flowed in a continuous stream.

No. 120.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 561. Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, November* 22, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith two despatches which I have received from Colonel Wellesley, on the subject of the mobilization of the Russian troops in the Caucasus and the general military preparations in that district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 120.

Major-General Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, November* 22, 1876.

My Lord,

I FORWARD herewith a tabular arrangement of the troops in the Caucasus.

In this paper will be found the exact strength of the forces of the 12th of September last, and under the heading "where stationed" will be seen the quarters occupied on the 6th of this month.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY, *Military Attaché.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 120.

Major-General Wellesley to Lord A. Loftus.

(Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, November* 22, 1876.

My Lord,

I THINK it right to draw the attention of the Government to the military preparations which Russia may be making in the direction of Asia Minor.

When I first heard of mobilization it was said that four military circles were to be mobilized, inclusive of the Caucasus.

I cannot help regarding with suspicion the fact that the Caucasus was not mentioned when mobilization was ordered by the Imperial Ukase, and especially as we know that a large body of men is concentrated at Alexandropol.

An acquaintance of mine, a Russian General, has been appointed to command a division of Cossacks which he is now forming in the Caucasus, and has written to his

brother-in-law, who intended applying for a post in the Southern Army, begging him to join him without delay if he can obtain leave to do so, as he expects the campaign in Asia Minor will be more interesting than that in European Turkey.

I have also heard several words drop from persons in a position to know what is going on which lead me to suppose that mischief may be brewing in that quarter.

No doubt Her Majesty's Government are informed of what takes place in the Caucasus from the Consul at Tiflis. Here it is difficult to get at the truth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRED. WELLESLEY, *Military Attaché.*

(Secret.)
P.S.—Since writing above I hear that mobilization of Caucasus is being carried on, but that the authorities object to making it public for fear of exciting the Mussulman population of that country.

F. W.

No. 121.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 562.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 22, 1876.*

IN conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 452, Confidential, of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to report confidentially to your Lordship on the following points:

1. Whether the Russian soldiers serving in Servia have been permitted to leave their regiments by the Russian Government for that purpose.

On this point, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to my despatch No. 513 of the 2nd instant, in which I reported the Emperor's distinct admission to me that he had permitted the officers to go to Servia, provided they left the Russian service.

His Majesty did not allude to the case of private soldiers. It must be presumed that any Russian soldiers fighting in Servia obtained previously their furlough; and, unless they had obtained the Emperor's permission to take service in a foreign army, they are, on their return to Russia, liable, under Article 325 of the Penal Code, to transportation to Siberia.

If, therefore, such soldiers, on their return to Russia, are not subjected to this punishment, it may be inferred that they obtained the Emperor's permission to engage themselves in foreign service.

2. I am instructed to report whether the Societies which are supplying Servia with money and materials are doing so in violation of Russian law.

On this point I am informed by an eminent legal authority that the Russian Penal Code is extremely severe, and quite explicit in regard to all political offences by Russian subjects committed against foreign Governments connected with Russia by Treaties, or other engagements of reciprocity. This is specially shown by Article 269 of the Penal Code, which says that all offences committed by a Russian subject against a foreign State, provided for in Articles 241, 242, 243, 249, 250, and 253 of the Penal Code, shall be punished by deprivation (special or general) of civil rights, and by banishment to Siberia.

The above-mentioned Articles speak of offences against the Chief of the State or the established Government, and they comprise all descriptions of high treason. The case of insurrection against an established Government, subventions of arms or other materials, are specially enumerated in Article 249.

It follows, therefore, that, if the Ottoman Government is in Treaty of Reciprocity with the Russian Government, the Russian societies who supply Servia with money and munitions of war, with the evident object of assisting the revolution against the Turkish Government, have contravened the law of the Russian Empire.

3. With regard to the third point, viz., whether cannon and rifles, &c., have been sent from Russian Government factories, I am unable to give your Lordship any positive or detailed information.

It has been reported that both arms and ammunition have been supplied by Russia to Servia, but whether from the Government arsenals I am not enabled to state.

I have heard that a considerable amount of arms, including cannon, have reached Servia from Southern Russia, but I cannot positively state whether they have issued

from the arsenals of the State or from private sources provided by the Slav Committees.

I am told that the sums forwarded to Servia by the Slav Committees in Russia for war purposes have amounted to 10,000,000 roubles (or about 1,250,000*l.* sterling), and that the amount of private charity for the "Croix Rouge" has amounted to about 3,000,000 roubles (or about 370,000*l.* sterling).

All details in regard to the importation of arms and ammunition into Servia would, I think, be more easily obtainable by Her Majesty's Consul-General at Belgrade than here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 122.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 521.)
My Lord, *Berlin, November 24, 1876.*

EDHEM PASHA, the Turkish Ambassador, having been appointed Plenipotentiary to the Conference, I called to take leave and arrange an interview between his Excellency and the Marquis of Salisbury, which subsequently took place, before his departure for Constantinople at 1 o'clock yesterday.

Edhem Pasha's applications for audiences of the Emperor and of the Chancellor before leaving Berlin were not granted, to his surprise and regret.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Bülow, however, called to express the disappointment of the Emperor at not being able to receive his Excellency before starting for Hanover.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 123.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 522. Secret.)
My Lord, *Berlin, November 25, 1876.*

I HAD some conversation with the Emperor at the celebration of the Crown Princess' birthday on the 21st instant at Potsdam before the arrival of the Marquis of Salisbury.

His Majesty expressed in gracious terms the pleasure with which he looked forward to his Lordship's visit, and desired me to express his thanks to Her Majesty's Government for having directed Her Majesty's Ambassador to the Conference to take Berlin on his way to Constantinople.

The Emperor, who spoke even more earnestly than at Wirzburg last July, argued that the maintenance of peace or the outbreak of war depended solely on England; that is, on the amount of encouragement and support England gave Turkey to resist the just and humane attempts of Russia, which had all his sympathies, to improve the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

I ventured to sustain that peace depended on Russia being content to accept the guarantees Turkey would be called upon to give by the Conference, without persisting further in her threatened wish to violate the solemn engagements of the Guaranteeing Powers by an occupation of Turkish territory.

His Majesty said that he could not place the interests of the Porte above those of Christianity and of Europe in general, but that he felt sure Her Majesty's Government desired peace as much as he did.

He, therefore, attached great importance to Lord Salisbury's Mission, and hoped his Lordship's conversation with Prince Bismarck would promote peace, and tighten the bonds that united England and Germany.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 124.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 523.)
My Lord,

Berlin, November 25, 1876.

THE Marquis of Salisbury arrived in Berlin on Wednesday night, 22nd instant, and left for Vienna on the morning of the 24th, after having seen the Emperor, the Crown Prince, the Chancellor Prince Bismarck, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Bülow, Herr von Radowitz, &c.

His Lordship has reported to Her Majesty's Government the impressions received from his visit to Berlin, but it is my pleasing duty to report the impression it has produced.

Lord Salisbury's reception by the German Court and Government was most cordial, and everything was done to show that his visit was welcome and gave pleasure.

The Emperor has expressed his high appreciation of the motives which actuated Her Majesty's Government in authorizing Lord Salisbury's Mission to Berlin, and of the language held by his Lordship at the audience of the 23rd instant.

In like manner, Prince Bismarck has acknowledged the value and importance of the Marquis's visit in the warmest terms, and has in conversation with leading men paid the highest tribute to his Lordship's great qualities as a statesman and as a negotiator.

Public opinion has been favourably impressed by the measure, and Lord Salisbury's passage through Berlin will leave beneficial traces that must lead to good in the future as well.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 125.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

(No. 7.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, November 27, 1876.

I HAVE to state to you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct while at Cettigné on the special service with which you have been intrusted.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 126.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

(No. 8.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, November 27, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt with satisfaction from your report of your interview with Prince Nicholas contained in your despatch No. 220 of the 4th instant, that His Highness expressed in the strongest manner his regret at the mutilation of Turkish soldiers by Montenegrins, and gave assurances of his determination to put a stop to barbarous acts of this description. It appears, however, from the despatch from Sir Henry Elliot, of which a copy is inclosed, that there were cases of horrible ill-treatment of prisoners after the battle of Medun, which are thought at Constantinople to be well-authenticated; and I have, consequently, to direct you to recur again to the subject with the Prince, and to state that Her Majesty's Government cannot too forcibly urge the necessity, if hostilities should unfortunately be renewed, of his taking such steps as will ensure that, in spite of the humane feelings by which he, himself, is undoubtedly actuated, the conduct of his subjects shall not be such as to rouse the just indignation of civilized nations.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 127.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 27, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, November 27, 1876, 7 P.M.

I HAVE asked, with reference to Sir H. Elliot's telegram to Colonel Mansfield of the 22nd instant, whether it is not possible that the Roumanian Government may make common cause with Turkey in the event of a war between the Porte and Russia.

I was told in reply that, according to all the information received here, such a course has never been thought of at Bucharest, and that, on the contrary, there is every reason to believe that a complete understanding has been come to between Prince Charles and Petersburgh, though a protest may be made against the entrance of Russian troops into the Principalities.

No. 128.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 28.)

(No. 19.)
My Lord,

Odessa, November 10, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a sketch, with explanation, showing the position, the size, and number of guns in the batteries now under construction at Odessa.

So far as it goes, it can be relied on, as nothing is shown that I have not seen myself, nor is there any other battery or gun that can have escaped my notice.

The measures given are approximate, as I could not, without exciting attention, measure them by line.

The weights given are tolerably accurate, as they are written on the trunnions of most of the pieces, and thus I could determine the weights of the others with sufficient accuracy.

No more heavy guns can be placed in any battery, except in Battery A, and possibly B. Access to A is now refused, and at an earlier stage in its construction than it was refused to the others.

Batteries are being erected to prevent a landing lower down the coast the whole way to Akerman, and again at frequent intervals between Ortchakof and East Point.

I have not examined these, not deeming it prudent to be seen looking at those beyond a walking distance.

Though the reserve has not been called out, the men have been ordered to be in readiness.

One of my own servants who, having served six years, has unlimited leave, except in the case of war, has been ordered to buy two pairs of long campaigning boots.

I abstain from mentioning rumours, but the positive facts showing a preparation for, if not expectation of, war, which come under my observation, may be worth communicating to your Lordship.

I have sent a copy of the sketch to the Commander of Her Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 129.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 606.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 28, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the official note addressed by your Excellency to Prince Gortchakow, a copy of which is inclosed in your despatch No. 588 of the 17th instant, embodying the proposals for a Conference contained in my despatch No. 564 of the 4th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 130.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 607.)
Foreign Office, November 28, 1876.

My Lord,

HER Majesty's Government approve the Memorandum in which your Excellency communicated to Prince Gortchakow their proposals and basis for a Conference, and of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch No. 522 of the 5th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 131.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, November 28, 1876.

A SPECIAL full power to attend the Conference has been given jointly to Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliot, and a separate general full power also given to the latter.

No. 132.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 507.)
Foreign Office, November 28, 1876.

Sir,

IN reply to the questions put in your Excellency's telegram of the 24th instant, as to whether, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Resident Ambassadors and Ministers at Constantinople should have special full powers to enable them to take part in a Conference, the invitations to which were sent not by the Porte but by Great Britain, I have to state that a special full power has been given to the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliot jointly, and that a separate full power has also been given to the latter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 132*.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 28.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.)
St. Petersburgh, November 28, 1876, 3 P.M.

COLONEL WELLESLEY believes he can obtain information respecting distribution (Russian active army, and M. Pachino's visit to India and Cabul.

May I authorize him to do so? Please answer before Friday.

No. 133.

Vice-Consul Gardner to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 16.)
Poti, November 10, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived here on the 9th instant, viâ Marseilles and Constantinople, and have resumed the duties of this Vice-Consulate.

Since the declaration of the armistice the inhabitants of Poti have returned to their various occupations; at the same time they make every preparation for retiring into the interior in the event of war.

The Russian Steam Navigation Company is removing all stores, coal, &c., from the depôt in Batoum harbour to Poti and other places of safety.

During a strong gale from the north-west on the 19th ultimo, ninety yards of the sea-wall at the harbour works were destroyed, and the large crane used for lifting the huge concrete blocks was thrown into the sea and lost.

It is reported that all operations will now be suspended on account of the numerous disasters that have occurred during the construction of this harbour.

Thirty thousand troops are now stationed at Mikaloff on the Poti and Tiflis Rail, and about the same number are located at Alexandropol on the Turkish frontier ready to march upon Kars, Erzeroum, &c., and on to Scutari.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS GARDNER.

No. 134.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 20.)

(No. 1290. Confidential.)
Constantinople, November 17, 1876.

My Lord,

SIR STEPHEN LAKEMAN called upon me again this afternoon and told me that he had just had a long conversation with Safvet Pasha, in the course of which they had nearly come to a complete understanding.

The Porte would send an Agent to Bucharest carrying a letter to Prince Charles intimating that the title of "Roumania" would be conceded, and he would also be charged with strict instructions to come to an agreement with M. Bratiano about the employment of the Roumanian troops.

According to Sir Stephen, Safvet Pasha said that, if the Conference should insist upon the temporary presence of foreign troops in Bulgaria, for the protection of the people, while the reforms are being put into execution, the Porte would propose to invite a Roumanian force to perform that duty, which is, he says, precisely what M. Bratiano desires.

Sir Stephen Lakeman, who is closely connected by marriage with the Roumanian Minister of War, says that he is promised the command of any Roumanian army sent to co-operate in Turkey, and being himself a General on the active list of the Turkish army and a Pasha (Mazhar Pasha), he believes that his nomination would give satisfaction here.

I shall take the earliest opportunity of ascertaining how the matter stands between him and the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 135.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 901. Confidential.)
Paris, November 28, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship General Conolly's despatch of the 25th instant, containing a report on the feeling in the French army with regard to the present crisis in Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 135.

Major-General Conolly to Lord Lyons.

(Confidential.)
Lyons, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

AFTER a sojourn of three months at some of the principal military establishments of France, and with three corps d'armée in the field, I have the honour to forward a report on the views taken of the present crisis in Europe by a large majority of the superior officers in this army, who, from their qualities and position, have most influence on their comrades and subordinates.

Your Lordship is aware that, during the late manœuvres I had exceptional facilities for judging the ideas of the civil population by being billeted in the houses of people of most classes of society.

My experience in this country teaches me that Frenchmen are much more disposed quietly to speak their mind to foreigners than to their own fellow-countrymen.

During these last three months I have naturally heard the subject in question discussed by individuals of every political opinion, and have come to the conclusion that prudent civilians are, on the whole, agreed with the military chiefs. The importance of such an agreement cannot be overrated when it is remembered that here whoever has the army can dictate to the nation; and that, at any time, the army may again be called upon to take the law into its hands for the preservation of order.

A European war next year involving Germany would not be looked on as a misfortune in France,—on the condition that she herself could keep neutral until the winter.

Much has to be done towards perfecting the system of mobilization for the 800,000 men that she could get under arms. The defensive works and military material require eighteen more months, and many of the reservists ought to have more practice. To attain these objects everything that does not entail a loss of honour must be borne with patience. Nevertheless I am convinced that even now any Power —however well prepared—will show its wisdom in thoroughly weighing all chances before it undertakes another invasion of this country.

In the meanwhile no exertion or expense ought to be spared for raising the French army and military resources to the highest possible state of efficiency. It is certainly not encouraging to these people to reflect that the laws for reorganization of the Staff and Administrative Services which might have passed one and a half years ago are still in abeyance, owing to the miserable wrangles of political parties.

Should the Government prove fortunate enough to gain a time so precious to this country, it would find itself in a position to expect an advantageous alliance, or even to assert its legitimate influence in European Councils.

A rupture hereafter between Germany and Russia about the Baltic provinces of the latter is kept steadily in view.

While it is confined to Russia and Turkey, the war, here considered imminent, will be regarded by the great mass of Frenchmen not pecuniarily interested with comparative indifference—the waste of life and money in the Crimea is now being generally deplored. There is undoubtedly a feeling of *amour-propre* about Egypt; but it does not seem serious with those whose pockets are untouched. It is towards the Rhine, not the Nile, that the aspirations of this nation are directed.

France will only set real value upon an alliance with a Power prepared to give security for aiding her hereafter in the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine.

With a returning consciousness of strength the sore of the two provinces rankles more deeply, and the thirst for *revanche* is none the less intense for not being paraded. I am, of course, not competent to form a judgment upon the assertions universally accepted here as to the hatred of the Alsatians and Lorrainers to their new masters.

With respect to ourselves, there exists a feeling among this people (not as unreasonable as at first) that England might have interfered in their favour at the end of the late war.

The following is the language held to me lately by more than one general officer holding high command:—

"In the event of a general war, England and France must inevitably be drawn together by the force of circumstances; for neither has got a friend among the Great Powers of Europe."

As I reported in 1872, after a private conversation with Marshal de MeMahon then commanding the Army of Versailles, those were the very words used to him by M. Thiers, then Chief of the State.

I have now held appointments similar to my present one in France, at Frankfort and Vienna over (at intervals) a space of ten years, during which my duties have brought me in close contact with foreigners of all countries. My experience leads me to the conviction that it would be absurd, as well as mischievous, to shut our eyes to the fact that we English are, as a nation, universally disliked, and that if we are on the eve of a general war it is only feelings of self-interest that will prompt any great European Power to become our ally.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAMES CONOLLY, *Major-General, Military Attaché.*

No. 136.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 992. Confidential.)
Paris, November 28, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH my immediately preceding despatch No. 991 of to-day, I have transmitted to your Lordship an interesting report from Major-General Conolly upon the feelings prevalent in the French army with regard to the critical state of affairs which has been produced in Europe by the Eastern question.

The views stated in General Conolly's present report confirm those which I had the honour to submit to your Lordship in my Secret despatch No. 914 of the 31st of last month.

There can be no doubt that there exists at this moment a strong desire, I may say indeed a fixed determination, on the part of the great majority of Frenchmen, not to allow France to be drawn into any war which does not hold out to her a fair prospect of restoring her lost provinces to her.

Of all wars, perhaps the least popular at this time in France would be one undertaken with the object of protecting Turkey against Russia. This would be called (as it is now the fashion to call the Crimean war) a war for English, not French interests; and although I do not think France is the country in which England is least liked, there is certainly no inclination whatever among Frenchmen to make any sacrifice to English interests. It would on the other hand be deemed extremely impolitic to give offence to Russia, on whom, after all, the French still chiefly found their hopes of eventual assistance against Germany.

France, then, will enter the approaching Conference at Constantinople with an absolute determination not to be led into a war herself. She will endeavour to avoid giving umbrage to any of the Powers; but she will, in all probability, be especially careful neither to offend Russia nor to irritate Germany. The great object of her dread is that other Powers should be engaged in a war from which Germany should stand aloof, and she will make every effort to escape the risk of being thus left *tête-à-tête* with Germany. Consequently she will spare no pains in order to prevent a war between any of the other Powers; and the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, the balance of power in the East, and even the defence of Constantinople and of the Straits, will be treated by her as very secondary objects.

Such at least I believe to be the present views of the French Government, and of Frenchmen generally. It appears that among some officers of high rank in the French army an opinion exists that neither France nor England has a friend among the Powers of Europe, and consequently that in the event of a general war, they must inevitably be drawn together. This opinion is entitled to some weight in speculative considerations regarding the future; but, in the immediate present, I fear that very little help, either diplomatic or military, is to be expected from France towards resisting Russian encroachments in the East.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 137.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 993.)
Paris, November 28, 1876.

My Lord,

I UNDERSTAND that applications for subscriptions to the recent emission of Russian interest-bearing notes were addressed to some of the principal financial companies and bankers at Paris, but that they met with no success.

I am told that the general answer was that subscriptions could not be given to a war loan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 138.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29, 1·57 P.M.)

Scutari, November 29, 1876, 11 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)

COLONEL LENNOX and colleagues reached this last night; left this morning for Podgoritza.

No. 139.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

Vienna, November 29, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

AS it is believed that the Prince of Montenegro will accompany the Princess to Naples, when details of armistice are settled, might Mr. Monson leave Ragusa, should he wish to do so, during His Highness's absence? Monson has not applied for this favour, but I believe that he would feel grateful for it.

No. 140.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Foreign Office, November 29, 1876, 6 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

IF Prince Nicholas leaves Montenegro, Monson may leave Ragusa, but he should be within reach so as to go back if required.

No. 141.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 800.) *Foreign Office, November 29, 1876.*

Sir,

HER Majesty's Consul at Salonica, in his despatch No. 85 of the 6th instant, incloses a statement from Mr. Vice-Consul Suter relating to the number of Circassian settlers in Thessaly; and I have to request your Excellency to report how far that statement tallies with the assurances given by the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 142.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 801.) *Foreign Office, November 29, 1876.*

Sir,

YOUR Excellency's despatch No. 1259 of November 8 has been received and laid before the Queen; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to Safvet Pasha, in answer to the objections brought forward by that Minister to the meeting of a Conference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 143.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 608. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, November 29, 1876.*

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your confidential information, copies of instructions, as marked in the margin,* which have been addressed to their Excellencies the Marquis of Salisbury and Sir H. Elliot on the occasion of the approaching Conference on the Eastern Question.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

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* Nos. 1, 2, and 9.

No. 144.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 568.) *Foreign Office, November 29, 1876.*

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch, marked Confidential, No. 446 of the 20th instant; and in reply I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve your having communicated to M. Melegari the points which General Ignatiew considers should be obtained for the insurgent provinces in Turkey, as enumerated in Sir H. Elliot's telegram of the 18th November.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 145.

The Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs to M. Gennadius.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by M. Gennadius, November 30.)

Athènes, le 18 Novembre, 1876.

Monsieur,

LE Consul-Général de Sa Majesté à Salonique m'écrit qu'un Ordre Viziriel, récemment parvenu de Constantinople, engage les Gouverneurs du Vilayet à ne pas contraindre les Bulgares de leur juridiction au paiement des droits diocésains revenant aux prélats Grecs, et que ceux-ci réclameraient par la voie des autorités locales. Cet ordre, qu'aucune mesure de nature coercitive, exercée jusqu'à présent par les Evêques de l'Eglise de Constantinople contre leurs administrés Bulgares, ne paraît avoir justifié, doit être plutôt attribué aux instigations de l'Exarchie Bulgare à Constantinople, laquelle, non contente des résultats regrettables du schisme que ses menées ont déjà provoqués, s'efforce de plus en plus à élargir encore le gouffre que cette schission a ouvert, en émancipant tout-à-fait les Bulgares non-schismatiques de la juridiction de leurs prélats Grecs.

Il est si bien dans les intérêts des agents infatigables du Panslavisme d'augmenter le nombre de leurs prosélytes et de paralyser la force morale de l'Eglise Grecque, que je n'ai pas besoin, Monsieur, de m'appésantir sur les motifs probables de l'Ordre Viziriel en question. Je crois pouvoir d'autant plus m'en dispenser, que les faits sont déjà venus corroborer mon avis. Beaucoup de villages Bulgares, qui avaient déjà rouié le schisme pour revenir au sein de l'Eglise Grecque, et notamment celui de Provolziani à Drama, se sont hâtés, à la suite de l'ordre susmentionné, qui les déliait de toute obligation vis-à-vis de leurs prélats, d'abjurer de nouveau leur foi pour redevenir schismatique. Ces faits, qui donnent la mesure non-seulement des manœuvres occultes et persévérantes de la propagande Panslaviste, mais tout aussi bien de la négligence inexplicable du Gouvernement Ottoman, qui y prête la main sans s'en apercevoir, sont assez importants pour attirer l'attention sérieuse du Cabinet de Londres sur une mesure dont les circonstances actuelles ne manqueront certainement pas d'aggraver les suites funestes. Ainsi je vous prie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien en entretenir tout confidentiellement Lord Derby et de le prier de donner les instructions nécessaires au Représentant de la Grande Bretagne à Constantinople, afin de réclamer la révocation de l'Ordre Viziriel en question, et de combattre ainsi, quand il en est temps encore, les tendances absorbantes de la propagande Panslaviste.

Je profite de cette occasion pour vous remettre aussi en mémoire la Circulaire que je vous ai adressée il y a quelques mois, sur la nécessité d'agir auprès le Gouvernement Britannique afin que ses Consuls en Turquie fussent engagés à s'entendre et à coopérer avec les nôtres dans tout ce qui regarde les mesures à prendre pour combattre les manœuvres Panslavistes et pour contribuer, en général, à l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de l'Orient. Des faits réitérés ont prouvé que nos Consuls en Turquie ont été toujours les mieux informés et, ce qui est bien plus essentiel, les mieux placés parmi des populations homogènes, pour pouvoir satisfaire aux exigences délicates de leur mission dans les circonstances actuelles. Aussi, ne doute-je pas qu'une nouvelle démarche de votre part à ce but, ne décide le Gouvernement Britannique à reconnaître la justesse de nos vues et à donner les instructions analogues à ses Agents Consulaires en Turquie.

Veuillez, &c.

No. 146.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 803.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1876.*

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which your Excellency held to the Turkish Minister of War respecting the discredit incurred by the Porte in allowing so much time to pass without investigating the charges against Chefket Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 1288 of the 16th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 147.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Stuart.

(No. 106.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1876.*

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 272 of the 17th instant, reporting your conversation with the King on the subject of the state of public feeling in Greece and the policy of his Government, I have to approve the language which you held on that occasion respecting the reorganization of the Greek army.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 148.

The Earl of Derby to Consul-General White.

(No. 44.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1876.*

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica upon the subject of outrages which it is said have been perpetrated by the Servians in the neighbourhood of Sienitza;* and I have to request that you will furnish me with a report thereon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 149.

Lord Tenterden to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Immediate.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1876.*

Sir,

I AM directed by the Earl of Derby to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the Marquis of Salisbury, Her Majesty's Special Ambassador, with the members of his Excellency's Special Embassy, will embark at Brindisi for Constantinople on Friday night, the 1st proximo, on board the Austrian Lloyd's vessel "Aurora." The "Aurora" will fly the Ambassador's flag, and I am to suggest that instructions may be sent by telegraph to Admiral Drummond to render such honours as may be usual and proper to the Ambassador should the vessel be sighted by the fleet off the Dardanelles, and also that the stationary gun-boats at Constantinople may be sent to meet and escort the "Aurora" on her approaching that city.

I am, &c.
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

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* No. 92.

No. 150.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1876, 7·40 P.M.*

LORD SALISBURY will embark at Brindisi to-morrow night on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Aurora" for Constantinople, flying an Ambassador's flag. Procure any necessary facilities for passing the Dardanelles.

I have suggested to Admiralty to inform Admiral Drummond, and that the stationary British gunboat at Constantinople might go to meet and escort the "Aurora" on her approaching Constantinople.

No. 151.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 1.)

(No. 84.) *Scutari, November 20, 1876.*

My Lord,

NOW that the armistice has existed for some time, and that a considerable portion of the Turkish troops here have been recalled to Constantinople, it may not be uninteresting to your Lordship to know the feeling, with regard to the present state of things, that I have been able to observe as existing among those troops and among other Mahommedans with whom I have come in contact.

The armistice has produced the effect on all those around of a great boon that would have been all the greater had it not been dashed with the uncertainty of peace following it. The troops that have left, embarked with loud expressions of satisfaction on having turned their backs on Montenegro, although they did not disguise their suspicion, which resembled alarm, that their recall might be but a preparation to meet a more powerful enemy.

Officers and men, both those that have gone and those that are left, when they arrived in Albania five months ago, were disposed to assume the arrogant and fanatical tone towards Christians usually ascribed to Mahommedans; but now they volunteer the opinion, and support it by their carriage, that war with fellow-creatures, of even opposing creeds, is iniquitous.

I admit that my twenty-three years' residence among, and intimate intercourse with, Mussulmans, in no way prepared me to witness a state of feeling such as this; and the reverses sustained on the Southern Montenegrin frontier can hardly account for it.

I am more inclined to think that the historical fire and fanaticism of Islam is not to be perpetuated by men drawn from settled homes and acquired rights rendered secure by long possession. Knowledge of civilization has so far reached even the lowest classes in the Ottoman dominions as to have made them fully aware that European conquests are no longer to be dreamt of. They are satisfied with what they already hold, and pray that a Government which is no longer to them the embodiment of a religious idea, will allow them to enjoy it in peace, side by side with those whom they are now disposed to admit as equals.

Mahommedans of high rank and position, with whom I have conversed on these matters, have endeavoured to account for what they call the apathy of the troops by blaming the administration; and they assert that, if Turkey should secure a European ally, and should the latter step forward and assume the direction of the country, it would quickly find its reward in the enthusiastic support of the population.

I have, &c,
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 152.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 1, 12·20 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 1, 1876, 11 A.M.*

M. DE CHAUDORDY, who arrived two days ago, has no letters accrediting him to the Sultan, and consequently will not have an official audience.

I should be glad to know whether Lord Salisbury is accredited to the Sultan as Special Ambassador, as I wish to prepare the Porte for receiving him properly.

No. 153.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 1, 4·51 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, December* 1, 1876, 4 P.M.

GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS left Petersburgh this afternoon for Kischeneff to take command of the active army.

It is thought that he will return here after reviewing and inspecting army.

French Military Attaché accompanies Grand Duke at his Imperial Highness' invitation.

No. 154.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 1, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December* 1, 1876, 4·30 P.M.

A CIRCULAR has been sent by the Porte to the Turkish Representatives, in answer to Prince Gortchakow's despatch of the 13th ultimo, which was communicated by General Ignatiew.

Its tone is very moderate. The original draft contained a sentence throwing upon Russia the responsibility of a war, if one should occur, and another declaring that the Porte would never consent to any special privileges for particular provinces, or to anything that would touch the independence and dignity of the Sultan, but both have, at my suggestion, been suppressed.

No. 155.

Consul Barker to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 2.)

(No. 38. Political.) *Canea, Crete, November* 10, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me this day to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting the return of his Excellency the Governor-General from a visit paid to Rethymo and Candia, and the object he had in view in visiting those two towns.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

Inclosure in No. 155.

Consul Barker to Sir H. Elliot.

Canea, Crete, November 10, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency the return to this town of the Governor-General, Réouf Pasha, from a visit he has paid to Rethymo and Candia.

His Excellency's object was to consider the question of the debts due to the Orphans' Fund by both Mahommedans and Christians, and for this purpose he summoned to Candia the Demogerontes of all the districts of the Island. This money, amounting to several millions of piastres, has been lent at 12 per cent. interest to different persons, and has accumulated for several years, and now bids fair to entail an enormous loss on the Fund.

The Demogerontes proposed to Réouf Pasha to reduce the rate of interest to 9 per cent., and his Excellency promised verbally that he would submit and recommend this plan to the consideration of the Porte.

In all probability, much delay will take place before the Porte decides the question,

if even it be favourably received, and in the meantime a large amount of this money will be lost, because many of the debtors will become insolvent; whereas, if a compromise were now made on the basis of a reduction of interest, a large amount of this debt would be cashed by the Fund.

In this excursion his Excellency visited the district of Lassithie, and released from the prisons of Spinalonga seventeen persons, who had been sent there at different times from the districts of Sphakia and Canea.

It is currently reported in the town of Candia that when there his Excellency tried hard to persuade the Christian members of the last General Assembly to elect the Judges of the Court of Appeal, but they all steadily declined, saying that, as long as the Porte refuses to accept the reforms in the Organic Law which they proposed last spring, and which they consider to be a guarantee for the impartial working and execution of the laws by placing the Turks and Christians on the same footing of equality, they cannot conscientiously proceed to the elections.

Everything continues quiet in the island.

At Candia a disturbance took place on a quarrel, wherein a Turk beat a Christian in the bazaars, and the mob induced the Bimbashi by threats to release the Turk from confinement; but, on the receipt of a telegram from the Governor-General, the Turk aggressor was re-imprisoned for fourteen days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

No. 156.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 2.)

(No. 1004.) *Paris, December* 1, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a despatch from General Conolly of this date relative to the purchase of arms by Russia in France; to large orders for chloroform received in Paris from Russia, Turkey, and the Geneva Society; and to the change in the feelings towards Russia in the French army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 156.

Major-General Conolly to Lord Lyons.

(Confidential.) *Paris, December* 1, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that the General Official Director of Material at the Ministry of War here has been informed that Russian agents are engaged in making purchases of Chassepot rifles to the amount of 20,000 stand from civilian firms in Paris.

I have also been told by a prominent contractor for military stores that orders have arrived in Paris on the part of the Russian and Turkish Governments, and of the Society of Geneva, for more chloroform than the trade here will be able to supply.

At the dinner given last night by the Marshal President at the Elysée, and the reception that followed it, three-fourths of the guests were military men. I had an opportunity of conversing with many whom I had not met for some months, owing to my absence at the autumn manœuvres. I was struck by the cooling-down which has evidently taken place in the feelings, which were some time ago so prevalent, of sympathy for and gratitude to the Russian nation.

This I account for by the conviction now entertained by the French that there is a perfect understanding between that Empire and Germany upon the present European crisis and its results.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES CONOLLY, *Major-General,*
Military Attaché.

No. 157.

The Earl of Derby to Musurus Pasha.

Foreign Office, December 2, 1876.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 24th ultimo, in which you acquaint me that your Government will in future require from those who shall present themselves to the Imperial Military authorities as members of the Society of the Red Cross a certificate bearing the seal of that Society, together with the official seal of the authorities of the place in which the Society is established, which document will also have to be legalized by the Representative or Consul of the Sublime Porte; and in reply I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that I have not failed to communicate these regulations to the proper authorities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 158.

Mr. Currie to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2.)

Brindisi, December 1, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

LORD SALISBURY wishes for Consul Moore to act as Interpreter. Please order him to Constantinople immediately.

Messenger starts from Brindisi to-morrow with despatches and private letters (*sic*). Interviews at Vienna, Rome, will arrive Tuesday.

We start to-night.

No. 159.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2, 1 P.M.)

Rome, December 1, 1876, 1·5 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

LORD SALISBURY left Rome by special train at 8 this morning for Brindisi, where he is timed to arrive at 11·20 this evening.

No. 160.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2.)

Vienna, December 2, 1876, 7·30 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)

I ASKED Count Andrassy yesterday what Prince Gortchakow could have meant by stating to Lord A. Loftus that he had not proposed that the Herzegovina should be occupied by Austria, but that it should have formed a neutral zone between Russian troops in Bulgaria and the Austrian in Bosnia. His Excellency said that as the proposal to occupy Turkish territory had been declined in *limine*, he was not aware that Russia intended it to be limited to Bosnia, but that his Highness must have forgotten his geography when he spoke of the Herzegovina forming a neutral zone between Bosnia and Bulgaria. He may have intended that Prince Nicholas should occupy the Herzegovina, and if so, his Highness probably expected that the occupation would terminate in an annexation.

No. 161.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2.)

Vienna, December 2, 1876, 7·45 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)

I WAS told yesterday by Count Andrassy that his last accounts from Russia represent opinions of higher classes and the Ministers as opposed to war with Turkey, and the army as showing no enthusiasm in favour of it.

He is not (without hope?) therefore, from these circumstances, and the financial difficulty, that peace may yet be preserved.

No. 162.

Consul Grant to Lord Tenterden.—(Received December 2, 11·8 A.M.)

Brindisi, December 2, 1876, 9·30 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)

LORD SALISBURY left at seven this morning. Expects to arrive Dardanelles about 11 P.M. on Monday, and Constantinople about noon on Tuesday.

No. 163.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2.)

Tiflis, December 2, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

ONE thousand men arrived at Poti by steamer; 2,000 more expected; 1,500 from Russia gone to frontier. Much sickness at Alexandropol; roads bad; despatches 2 to 4 sent.

No. 164.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2, 5·10 P.M.)

Constantinople, December 2, 1876, 2·30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE received following figures from Tiflis by post dated 23rd instant.

"I hear that 40,000 men are expected shortly to arrive at Tiflis from Russia; they will come in detachments of 2,000 a-day. It would seem that Russia means assuming offensive operations on this frontier. There are on frontier 40,000 men and 18 batteries; if this reinforcement arrives, it will give a total of 80,000 men."

No. 165.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Foreign Office, December 2, 1876, 6 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

IN reply to your telegram of 1st instant, a special credential has been given to Lord Salisbury, but he has authority to use it or not as he thinks best. Under any circumstances he should have an audience of the Sultan.

No. 166.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

Foreign Office, December 2, 1876.

(No. 814.)

Sir,

WITH reference to your telegram of the 1st instant, requesting to be informed whether the Marquis of Salisbury is accredited to the Sultan as Special Ambassador, I have to acquaint your Excellency that a special credential has been given to his Lordship, who has authority to use it or not, as he thinks best.

Under any circumstances, however, Lord Salisbury should have an audience of the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 167.

Consul Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, December 2, 1876.*

COLONEL LENNOX and colleagues having terminated their work on Turkish territory, have this day left Jablak for Cettigné.

No. 168.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 277.) *Athens, November 25, 1876.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 274 of the 18th instant, I have now the honour to inclose portions of the "Messager d'Athènes" of the 11th and 18th instant, containing summaries in French of some of the principal speeches which were delivered in the Chamber during the debate upon the general policy of M. Coumoundouros' Cabinet.

The summaries of other speeches made by Messrs. Coumoundouros, Tricoupi, and Deligeorge, in addition to those already published, are to appear in the next number of the same newspaper which is, however, seldom delivered in time to be transmitted with any comments upon its contents by the outgoing mail.

The speech or declaration made by M. Contostavlos, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressing in strong terms the ties by which free Greece is bound to the Greeks who are still under the Ottoman yoke, appears to be given *in extenso*.

M. Ricaki, one of the Deputies for Patras, whose speech is not yet published, proposed that the money required for armaments should be raised by a forced loan, to which persons should be obliged to contribute, from 1,000 drachmas (36*l*.) as the maximum, to 10 drachmas (7*s*.) as the minimum, in proportion to their incomes; and he told me that 30,000,000 of drachmas (1,071,428*l*.) could easily be raised in that manner. His proposal did not, however, meet with much favour in the Chamber.

Since the division, which, as I duly informed your Lordship, resulted in a majority of thirteen as a vote of confidence in the Government, the Leaders of the Opposition, instead of feeling their defeat to be a check, are all the more confident that they will be able to overthrow M. Coumoundouros, when the particular measures which he has brought forward come on for discussion.

It has even been rumoured during the last few days that the Government had either already resigned, or was on the point of doing so, in anticipation of being defeated.

In the meantime, the King has conferred upon M. Coumoundouros the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Redeemer, which, although usually given to foreign Envoys on their departure from Greece, is a rare distinction amongst Greeks, Admiral Canaris, M. Bulgaris, and M. Chrestides being, I believe, the only surviving Greeks upon whom it has been conferred

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure in No. 168.

Extracts from the "Messager d'Athènes."

No. 169.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 47. Political.) *Beyrout, November 16, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch, No. 54 of the 13th instant, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting the calling out of 30 battalions of reserve within the Military District of Arabistan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 169.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

Beyrout, November 13, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Excellency's information, that orders have been received by the Commander-in-chief of the Fifth Corps d'Armée and by the civil authorities, to call out 30 battalions of an effective of 1,000 men each, of the reserve within the Military District of Arabistan, of which 12 battalions are to be furnished by the vilayet of Syria.

This measure has not unnaturally created some dissatisfaction amongst the Mussulmans of Syria, and has tended to increase somewhat the feeling reported in my despatch No. 52 of the 30th ultimo, and the carrying out of this measure may lead to some disturbances in various places in Syria, but I can perceive no indications of anything like a general outbreak.

Hitherto, no cases of gravity have been reported to me as having occurred, though quarrels and fights not unfrequently take place, and highway robberies, occasionally accompanied by murder, are on the increase in the outlying districts of the vilayet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 170.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 59. Political.) *Bosna Serai, November 17, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch I have just received from Mr. Vice-Consul Freeman, Confidential, of 14th November. It is marked Confidential, because this information was given in strict confidence, and the Governor-General and others might be compromised if it were known that secret instructions of their Government had been divulged.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 170.

Vice-Consul Freeman to Consul Holmes.

(Confidential.) *Mostar, November 14, 1876.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, some time since, when Her Majesty's Government made certain demands of the Porte with reference to an administrative autonomy for these provinces, the Grand Vizier telegraphed to the Governor-General of the Herzegovina that such and such propositions had been made, but that it was quite impossible for the Porte to accede to them. He therefore privately instructed his Excellency to have an address to the Sultan drawn up and signed by the leading men of the province, Christian as well as Mussulman, setting forth that they had

always lived on the best of terms with each other; that they were perfectly content with the present Administration, and desired neither reforms nor innovations of any kind, and that, above all, they were opposed to all foreign intervention or interference in local affairs.

The Governor-General, desiring to have as little as possible to do with the matter, intrusted a Mussulman notable of this town to carry out the wishes of the Grand Vizier. An address in the above sense has therefore been drawn up and signed by Mussulmans and Catholics, but no signatures have been obtained from any members of the Orthodox community.

This information has been communicated to me in the strictest confidence, but there is no doubt of the truth of it. I have not been able to ascertain for certain whether the address has been forwarded yet to Constantinople, but I believe not, as the refusal of the Orthodox Christians to affix their signatures has presented an unexpected difficulty, and rendered the document comparatively valueless.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. B. FREEMAN.

No. 171.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 230. Political. Confidential.)

Ragusa, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

IN my despatch No. 214 of the 27th ultimo, I observed to your Lordship that the influence which Russia exerted upon Montenegro had recently recovered much of its former strength; and it may not be uninteresting to Her Majesty's Government that I should give a short sketch of the change in the situation which occurred during my presence in the Principality.

I originally proposed to your Lordship that I should be authorized to visit Cettigné, because I had reason to believe that Prince Nicholas, yielding to the representations of the Austrian, French and Italian Agents, was inclined to take a very decided line in the direction of peace; and because I was assured, on what I considered good authority, that the direct representations of Her Majesty's Government would exercise a material and very beneficial influence upon His Highness's intentions.

I found, upon my arrival at Cettigné, that the dictatorial arrogance of the Russian Agent, and the "pronunciamento" of General Tchernaieff's army had, in effect, bitterly offended Prince Nicholas; and that on these grounds, as well as because he himself dislikes the war, and because he had been led to believe that, in reward for his adoption of a pacific policy, Austria, France, and Italy would obtain for him, from the Porte, the territorial concessions on which he has set his heart, he was on the point of deciding to throw Servia over, and make peace on his own account without any further reference to his ally.

Colonel Thömmel had, indeed, received instructions from Count Andrássy to let the Prince know that the Austro-Hungarian Government was not disinclined to favour his pretentions for an acquisition of territory; and I have learned from the Austrian Agent that, on his last visit to Vienna, he talked over the whole matter with the Count, and was told pretty explicitly how far his Excellency approved the demands of Montenegro, and what extent of territory he was prepared to recommend the Porte to cede. But Colonel Thömmel was not allowed to make any definite promise to the Prince; nor could the French and Italian Agents do more than give His Highness vague assurances that their Governments were animated by friendly intentions towards the Principality, and would take his proposals into consideration. When the Prince found that day after day he heard nothing but this indefinite language from those to whom he had turned for encouragement and support, he complained that he was being treated like a child; and a well-timed present of money, and renewed promises of help from Russia, decided him to consent to resume common action with Servia, and to make the declaration respecting the short armistice, which completely upset the hopes we had entertained that we should succeed in persuading His Highness to give his consent to the armistice as proposed by the Porte.

The Prince has not concealed from any of the foreign Agents his dislike at being exposed, without any refuge, to the daily obsessions of M. Yonino; and we were all of opinion that, having regard to His Highness's particular temperament, it would be just

as well that, for the moment, he should be left to endure this disagreeable experience, which will certainly have the effect of making him eventually more amenable to the counsels of the Representatives of the other Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 172.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 231. Political. Confidential.)

Ragusa, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my preceding despatch No. 230, Confidential, of this day's date, I suppose that your Lordship is already aware that it was due to the influence of Austria that Prince Nicholas did not, in the month of July last, carry out his intention of attacking Mostar. Colonel Thömmel told me, confidentially, that he had been instructed to make His Highness understand that Austria was not inclined to tolerate his annexation of the Herzegovina, which was at that time pretty much at his mercy; but that there was no objection to his invading the Turkish possessions in any other direction.

Colonel Thömmel also stated to me that the Prince had repeatedly assured him that it was entirely the fault of Austria that Montenegro had declared war at all. His Highness said, that he had waited anxiously for some message from Vienna which would have enabled him to resist the pressure put upon him by others; but never a word reached him; and he had to succumb to a force which became irresistible. Colonel Thömmel, in telling me this, which he did of course very confidentially, added that he believed it to be quite true; and that it was lamentable that his Government acted with such dilatoriness; and had allowed so much mischief to be done by the Slavophil officials of Dalmatia.

What gives this weak and vacillating policy an almost ludicrous aspect is, that the Turks, on their side, declare that Austria had assured the Porte that Montenegro would not join Servia in making war; and that on faith of this assurance the Herzegovina was in the month of June denuded of nearly all the troops which had been stationed there.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 173.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 232. Political.)

Ragusa, November 18, 1876.

My Lord,

I UNDERSTAND that the German Delegate, Lieutenant-Colonel V. Seebach, has arrived this morning, and that the Military Commission for the delimitation of the frontier will hold its first formal meeting this afternoon.

It had been proposed that the meeting should be at the Russian Consulate; but as the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs is now staying there, both Colonel Lennox and I think that some other place would be preferable; and I believe that a request will be made to the military authorities here for the loan of a suitable room.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 174.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 233. Political.)
Ragusa, November 18, 1876.

My Lord,

I WAS informed confidentially yesterday that difficulties might arise at the meeting of the Boundary Commission, in consequence of Signor Durando, the Italian Delegate, not being a military man as contemplated in the identic instructions; and, after consultation with Colonel Lennox, I telegraphed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to suggest that this oversight should be rectified by a telegraphic notification that the Porte and the Ambassadors accepted Signor Durando's nomination.

Constant Pasha being likewise a civilian, notice has been given to Moukhtar and Dervish Pashas to send staff officers to confer with the Delegates, and Moukhtar Pasha has already complied with this request.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 175.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 234. Political.)
Ragusa, November 19, 1876.

My Lord,

SOME evenings before my departure from Cettinjé, when all the foreign Agents had been invited to dinner at the Palace, Prince Nicholas took advantage of the opportunity to say to us collectively that he hoped that we would represent to our respective Governments the straits to which Montenegro was being reduced by the presence in the Principality of more than 80,000 Herzegovinian refugees.

His Highness said that his people had hitherto received, sheltered, and shared their means with these unfortunates; but the resources of the country are scanty, and the winter—a terrible season in Montenegro—was almost at hand. He looked forward with the greatest apprehension, therefore, to what would happen.

From Russia he had received supplies of clothing and food, but in very insufficient quantities, and he felt himself forced to make, through us, an appeal to European charity to come to his aid.

Like my colleagues, I listened to the Prince's observations without a word of comment, and without even undertaking to report them.

I took some pains during my stay in Montenegro to ascertain the truth as to the number of the refugees in the Principality, and from impartial and well-informed sources was assured that the Prince's calculation is tolerably correct; indeed, it is declared that registers are available for the verification of this estimate.

If nothing be done in other quarters to succour these miserable exiles the prospect for the winter in Montenegro is indeed terrible.

I understand that one of the principal objects of the projected visit of the Prince to Vienna is to endeavour to make an arrangement upon this urgent point with the Austro-Hungarian Government.

The Prefect of this district told Colonel Lennox and myself yesterday that every week brought an increase in the numbers of the refugees in this part of Dalmatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 176.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 235. Political.)
Ragusa, November 19, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Municipality having placed at the disposal of the Military Delegates the room in which the meetings of the Town Council are usually held, the Commission for the demarkation of the Armistice Boundary held its first formal sitting this morning.

The British Delegate, Colonel Lennox, presided; and the French Delegate, Chef d'Escadron Lemoyne, acted as Secretary.

I understand that the only business transacted was the issuing of the formal communications to the Turkish commanders and to the Prince of Montenegro that the Delegates requested the presence of duly authorized officers from the late belligerents for the purpose of obtaining the information necessary to the establishment of the line of delimitation.

The Delegates will meet again to-morrow.

It appears from what Constant Pasha tells me that the Porte has not taken the trouble to let the Turkish authorities know that the Commission cannot treat with civilian employés; and his Excellency is much chagrined at the unnecessary confusion and delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 177.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 236. Political. Confidential.)
Ragusa, November 21, 1876.

My Lord,

GENERAL VON POPPENHEIM, who has succeeded to the command in Southern Dalmatia, arrived at Ragusa about a fortnight ago. He lost no time in paying a visit of inspection to the forts in the Bocche di Cattaro, and to those in the neighbourhood of Budua; and he returned to Ragusa the day before yesterday.

The General is, I believe, of Bohemian extraction; at any rate he is not Slav, and does not even speak the Slav language.

During my stay at Cettigné I had several conversations with Colonel Thömmel respecting the Slav proclivities of General Jovanovich, who has now been transferred to Laibach; and the Austrian Agent more than once expressed his surprise that advantage had not long ago been taken of that General's claim to advancement to remove him from a post, the political duties of which his Russo-Slavophil sentiments rendered him incapable of discharging with impartiality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 178.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 237. Political.)
Ragusa, November 21, 1876.

My Lord,

CONSTANT PASHA tells me that four Turkish battalions from Trebigné will be embarked for Constantinople to-morrow in a steamer which will be sent to Gravosa to receive them.

These soldiers are said to be invalids, and will cross Austrian territory unarmed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 179.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 238.)
Ragusa, November 21, 1876.

My Lord,

CONSTANT PASHA called on me this afternoon to say that, having been yesterday referred by the "Commission Arbitrale" to the Prince of Montenegro upon the question of the victualling of the town of Niehsich, he had telegraphed to

Cettigné to inquire whether any modification had taken place in His Highness's views in regard to this point.

His Excellency said that he had not as yet received any reply to his inquiry.

The Pasha continued that he thought that the Delegates had not paid sufficient attention to the final passage of their instructions, which desired them in general to follow the dictates of justice and humanity; and that he saw that Montenegro had a powerful advocate in the person of the Russian Delegate, and that everyone was indifferent to the interests of Turkey.

I replied that while I hoped that all the members of the Commission were impartial, and would act impartially, I must at once assure his Excellency that in Colonel Lennox the Delegates had an admirably qualified President; and that I could not for a moment admit that there was the remotest danger of his permitting any action on their part which was not perfectly equitable. I added, that from what I had heard in conversation with the Delegates, the ardour of Colonel Bogoluboff in favour of the Montenegrins was on the whole calculated to be injurious to the cause of his clients.

Constant Pasha did not seem to be quite convinced on this point, and said that, however that might be, he felt sure that false information would be given respecting the Montenegrin positions, solely for the purpose of obtaining an advantageous line of demarcation, which would eventually be claimed as a permanent frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 180.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 239. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, November 23, 1876.*

CONSTANT PASHA is so dissatisfied with the view taken by the "Commission Arbitrale" of the principles on which the boundary line is to be traced, that he intends to decline acting any more as Delegate of his Government.

I have not time by this mail to enter into the details of his objections, nor, indeed, ought I, perhaps, to make any remarks upon those details until the Commission has come to a decision.

The general grounds, however, of the Pasha's objections are that the Commission is ready to accept a line traced from point to point on Turkish territory as effectively occupied by the Montenegrins, when, according to his Excellency, those points were not, *de facto*, occupied, his argument being that, in fact, the country was only occasionally traversed by flying bands, and was not, in a military sense, in Montenegrin occupation.

Constant Pasha says that the foreign commissioners are also too ready to regard the Montenegrins as regular troops carrying on a regular war, whereas, in fact, the conduct of hostilities was, on one side, nothing but a guerilla warfare.

He assured me that Moukhtar Pasha could not, and would not, accept any such line as that proposed.

His Excellency repeated the observation which he made the other day, that it was extremely objectionable that the Russian Delegate should be in conference every evening with the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs (who is staying at the Russian Consulate), and be "coached" by him as to the next day's discussions.

I told the Pasha that I had hardly any knowledge of what passed in the Commission; and, I added (in, I fear, rather warm language, for I was provoked by his constant repetition of the words "injustice" and "comedy"), that "I must repel, in the most positive and decided manner, any accusations of unfairness, as applied to the proceedings to which Colonel Lennox was a consenting party."

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 181.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 240. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, November 23, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 237 of the 21st instant, I have the honour to state that a rather unintelligible misunderstanding has arisen as to the embarkation of the Turkish troops at Gravosa. The Turkish Consul-General, as well as Constant Pasha, assures me that it was only intended to embark the sick, wounded, and discharged soldiers, and that they would have crossed Austrian territory unarmed. But it seems that when the Austrian Government heard that there were four battalions to be embarked they demurred, and suspended the permission. The battalions are encamped close to the frontier, and General von Poppenheim sent up yesterday two field-pieces, and held his troops in readiness to prevent by force any attempt of the Turks to pass it.

A Turkish corvette, which brought Riza Bey as delegate of Dervish Pasha to the "Commission Arbitrale," was also ordered to leave the harbour of Gravosa within twelve hours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 182.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 241. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, November 25, 1876.*

I BELIEVE that by this mail Colonel Lennox will be able to transmit to your Lordship a summary of the proceedings of the "Commission Arbitrale," and a tracing of the line of demarcation decided upon.

That line substantially gives to the Montenegrins, or neutralizes, all that had been claimed by them.

Its general direction was known to Constant Pasha two days ago, and his opinion respecting it was reported to your Lordship in my despatch No. 239 of the day before yesterday.

The line will be officially communicated to the Representatives of the belligerents at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 183.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 242. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, November 25, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a letter which I received yesterday afternoon from Colonel Lennox, inclosing copy of a telegram in French which the Commission requested me to send to Sir Henry Elliot, respecting the orders given by Moukhtar Pasha to the Commandant at Nichsich to allow the inhabitants to go to Gaczko for the purpose of obtaining provisions there—"sans le concours toutefois de la force publique."

I telegraphed accordingly an English paraphrase of this message to Sir Henry Elliot yesterday evening.

Having already been apprized of Moukhtar Pasha's intention, I had telegraphed in the same sense to your Lordship earlier in the day.

I have reason to think that the idea of this proceeding originated with Constant Pasha, who is exceedingly irritated at the manner in which his pretensions have been treated by the Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 184.

Colonel Lennox to Mr. Monson.

Ragusa, November 24, 1876, 4·45 P.M.

Sir,

PLEASE telegraph the accompanying to the English Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLM. LENNOX.

Inclosure 2 in No. 183.

Colonel Lennox to Sir H. Elliot.

(Télégraphique.)

PAR dépêche spéciale Moukhtar Pacha a communiqué à la Commission, par l'intermédiaire de Constant Pacha, son délégué, qu'il a ordonné au Commandant de Niesic de ne plus interdire aux habitants qui voudraient s'approvisionner à Gatzko de s'y rendre, sans le concours toutefois de la force publique.

Constant Pacha informe la Commission que s'il survenait un conflit du fait des Monténégrins voulant empêcher la circulation, la responsabilité de la rupture de l'armistice retomberait sur le Gouvernement Princier.

La Commission vous prie d'en informer les Chefs de Mission.

No. 184.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 243. Political.)

Ragusa, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

I UNDERSTAND that M. Yonine, the Russian Diplomatic Agent in Montenegro, has been summoned to St. Petersburgh, and that he left Cettigné yesterday to take passage by the steamer from Cattaro to Fiume, which will touch at Gravosa this afternoon, and by which I forward this despatch to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 185.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 244. Political.)

Ragusa, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

SIGNOR DURANDO, the Italian Agent to Montenegro, informs me that he learns from M. Radonich, the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs, that Prince Nicholas will accompany the Princess Milena to Naples, as soon as all the details of the armistice are settled.

His Highness will travel in the strictest incognito, and will only remain for a few days in Italy.

Signor Durando thinks that it is not the Prince's intention to go to Rome.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 185.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 245. Political.)

Ragusa, November 26, 1876.

My Lord,

M. YONINE passed through Ragusa yesterday, on his way to St. Petersburgh, having left Cettigné the previous day.

A special messenger from Constantinople had brought him despatches from General Ignatieff.

I had a few minutes conversation with him on board the steamer. He told me that he looked upon war between Russia and Turkey as a certainty; but in so doing he only repeated what the Turks here have been saying for some days past.

He would not tell me the object of his journey to St. Petersburgh, nor the probable duration of his absence.

He leaves one of his Secretaries at Cettigné, and the other in charge of the Consulate-General at Ragusa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 186.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 246. Political.)

Ragusa, November 26, 1876.

My Lord,

COLONEL LENNOX, as President of the "Commission Arbitrale," delivered at 4 p.m. yesterday, to the representatives of the Commanders-in-chief of the Turkish and Montenegrin forces, the decisions of the Commission as to the delimitation.

Constant Pasha had previously sent to the Commission a Memorandum combatting the Montenegrin pretentions.

The Austrian and Russian Commissioners started this morning viâ Trebigné for Zaslap and Grahowo. The British, French, and German Commissioners have embarked this afternoon on board the Austrian gun-boat "Möve" for Antivari, on their way to Scutari and Podgoritza.

The Italian Commissioner remains at Ragusa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 187.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 1293.)

Constantinople, November 18, 1876.

My Lord,

THE inclosed paper contains the provisions which General Ignatiew considers should be demanded for the insurgent provinces.

Although the paper has no official character and appears rather to have been drawn up for the newspapers—to which I see it was immediately communicated—than for serious consideration, it may be well to accompany it with some remarks.

1. The disarming of the Mussulmans is a measure which should be carried out wherever it is practicable, as I believe to be in the case of Bulgaria; but in Bosnia and Herzegovina, among a people from time immemorial accustomed to carry arms, and to put their chief pride in them, could not be attempted.

The Austrian Bokchese and Dalmatians carry arms, as do also the Christian Turkish subjects in Albania; but if the practice cannot be put an end to in Bosnia, the privilege should be allowed to all classes so that the Christians might not be placed in an invidious situation, which lays them at the mercy of their Turkish fellow-subjects.

2. The exclusion of all but natives from public functions, and their nomination upon the principle of election is the last thing that should be proposed.

It is precisely the native functionaries, who, having friends to serve, or enemies to

spite, become the worst of petty tyrants of their districts. This has been amply proved in Crete, where certain influential Christians who were placed in a position of authority have been the bane of the Island.

3. With regard to the formation of a local militia and police, with the equal participation of Christians, I have frequently stated that I consider the employment of Christians in the police is absolutely indispensable.

4. There cannot be two opinions as to the evils and abuses resulting from the employment of irregulars, but a proposal for the expulsion of the Circassians from the lands allotted to them twenty years ago, when they were obliged to leave Russia, will hardly be seriously brought forward.

5. The confinement of the Turkish troops to the fortresses is also a suggestion which it cannot be necessary even to discuss, if the authority of the Porte is to be maintained.

6. The abolition of the tithes, and the readjustment of the taxes by the populations, are neither of them suggestions likely to find favour.

A more equitable mode of collecting the tithes is loudly called for, but, considering the proportion which they bear to the already insufficient revenues of the Empire, their substitution by other taxation would be found a matter of extreme difficulty.

The adjustment of the taxation by the inhabitants, even if it did not interfere with the first duties of the Central Government, would not be likely to prove advantageous to the poorer classes, who would certainly be ground down by the more influential classes with whom the decision would rest.

7. The employment of the local language is a reform that should be adopted, and has already been announced as to be introduced in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

8. The nomination of Christian Governors-General for the Provinces would be of very doubtful benefit in some of them, where they would find it difficult to maintain their authority over the large Mussulman populations, and their positions would not be improved if they were to be named subject to the approval of the foreign Powers; but the nomination of the Governors for a fixed period would undoubtedly be advantageous.

9. Messrs. Baring, Schuyler, and Tzeretelew, whom it is proposed to consult as to the details of the local administration in Bulgaria, have been in ravaged districts inquiring into the acts perpetrated there, but have none of them the special knowledge which is required in framing a scheme of administration.

The Bulgarian notables, on the contrary, should be able to speak with authority, and knowledge, of the grievances to be redressed.

10. A direct Consular control over the measures is likely entirely to undermine the authority of the Government, and to increase the difficulties of the administration.

11. Before anything is asked respecting the inquiry into the persons guilty of the massacres, it will be necessary to see how the Commission now sitting performs its duties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 187.

General Ignatieff's Eleven Proposals:

1. DESARMEMENT des Musulmans en Bosnie, en Herzégovine et en Bulgarie.
2. Exclusion des fonctionnaires non-indigènes et introduction du principe électif sur une base large.
3. Formation d'une milice locale et de la police avec la participation des Chrétiens proportionnée au nombre et à la race de ces derniers.
4. Interdiction de l'emploi des irréguliers et renvoi des Circassiens dans les Provinces Musulmanes de l'Empire.
5. Concentration des troupes Turques dans les forteresses.
6. Répartition des impôts par les indigènes eux-mêmes et abolition de la dime.
7. Emploi de la langue locale dans les Tribunaux et l'Administration.
8. Gouverneurs Chrétiens comme au Liban nommés par la Porte pour cinq ans avec l'assentiment des Puissances Garantes.

9. Les détails de l'organisation des autonomies locales pour les trois provinces, et particulièrement pour la Bulgarie, seront déterminés après qu'on aura entendu les suggestions et les avis des experts, c'est-à-dire, des personnes qui ont séjourné longtemps ou rempli des missions dans le pays. Ainsi pour la Bulgarie on pourrait consulter MM. Schuyler, Baring, le Prince Zérétchew, M. Adelbourg, Vice-Consul d'Autriche-Hongrie, M. Matalas, Consul de Grèce à Philippopoli, et quelques autres, ainsi que les notables qui seraient appelés par ces messieurs.

10. Contrôle direct de l'Europe pour l'exécution des mesures décrétées dans les trois Provinces (Commissions Consulaires Locales).

11. Enquête sevère avec participation des Consuls sur les méfaits et les massacres accomplis par les Musulmans, châtiment exemplaire des vrais coupables, et indemnités à allouer aux familles des victimes aux dépens de la population Musulmane qui a participé aux désordres.

No. 188.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 1205.)
Constantinople, November 18, 1876.

My Lord,

MR. KIRBY GREEN has informed your Lordship, by his despatches of the 23rd and 28th ultimo, of the boundary which he considers should be fixed for Montenegro on its southern frontier.

His proposal is for the cession by Turkey of a considerably greater amount of territory than that which is considered necessary by General Ignatiew, who always says that Podgoritza with its Mussulman population must be left to the Turks, and that the proper boundary would be the River Moratcha up to a point from which it should be drawn, so as to include the part of the Kutchi district at present belonging to Turkey, of which the principal part is already in Montenegro.

As far as I am acquainted with the circumstances, this would appear to be a proper arrangement, which would not injuriously affect any real Turkish interest.

To the north of the Principality, on the other hand, General Ignatiew considers that the whole of the districts of Zgubsi, Banjani, and Nichsich should be joined to Montenegro with a boundary so extended that the Principality would receive an accession of territory nearly equal to the half of what it now possesses.

It is certainly desirable that those districts, which are now a source of expense and weakness to Turkey rather than of benefit, should be joined to Montenegro, but if it is proposed to extend its frontier too much, the Porte will be entitled to represent that the engagement of the Powers was that peace should be concluded on the basis, in general terms, of existing territorial possessions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 189.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 1206.)
Constantinople, November 19, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note, which I have received from the Porte, requesting me to call the attention of Sir Arnold Kemball to alleged violations of the armistice by the Servians, which had been reported by the officers commanding at Mitrovitza and Novi Bazar, with a view to the prevention of collisions, and to the maintenance of the respective positions as they were at the commencement of the armistice.

I have telegraphed the substance of the Porte's note to Sir Arnold Kemball, instructing him to concert with his colleagues upon the measures to be taken, and suggesting that, if he thinks it advisable, he can direct Major Gonne to proceed to the places mentioned in it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 189.

Note-Verbale.

Sublime Porte, le 15 Novembre, 1876.

LES dernières informations télégraphiques des commandants des divisions militaires de Mitrovitza et de Novi Bazar présentent la situation comme étant de nature à causer des inquiétudes.

Indépendamment des forces considérables qu'ils ont assemblées sur divers points, les Serbes ont violé l'armistice en envahissant Bukovick, Sostanitza, Ragosna et diverses autres localités. Ils ne cessent de commettre des actes de violence sur la personne de ceux qui tombent entre leurs mains et d'employer des moyens d'intimidation à l'égard de ceux qui échappent à leur poursuite.

En faisant part de ces graves infractions à l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique, le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères est convaincu qu'elle voudra bien y attirer l'attention de son délégué militaire afin que la situation respective soit établie telle qu'elle existait au moment de l'armistice. Il y aurait grand intérêt à faire parvenir sur ce point des instructions au Délégué Britannique le plus tôt possible, car les Serbes continuant d'avancer et d'empiéter sur les positions occupées par les troupes Impériales un conflit serait bien à craindre.

No. 190.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 1301. Confidential.)

Constantinople, November 22, 1876.

My Lord,

SIR S. LAKEMAN left Constantinople yesterday well satisfied with the reception given by the Porte to the overtures he represented himself as authorized by M. Bratiano to make.

Safvet Pasha, whom I questioned on the subject, is not aware of Sir S. Lakeman having brought any written document showing him to be authorized to speak in M. Bratiano's name, but said that the Porte would take the opportunity of proving its desire to improve the relations of the Principalities and the Imperial Government.

In the month of July the Roumanian Government had sent in certain demands in which the Porte was asked to acquiesce, and Ali Bey, the President of the Danube Commission, now at Tultcha, was about to be directed to proceed to Bucharest to inform M. Bratiano of the intention of the Porte to return a favourable answer to five out of the seven points then enumerated.

They were communicated to your Lordship by Mr. St. John in his despatch No. 71 of the 1st July last.

The demands with which the Porte declares its incapacity to deal, as being matters depending upon the European Treaties, are the 2nd and 7th.

The former relates to the recognition of the right of the Principalities to have Diplomatic Representatives of the same character as those of independent States, and the Porte is of opinion that, as the Treaties lay down that the Principalities shall only have the right to keep a Capou Kihaya, or Agent, it is not within its competence to authorize a change, which would, moreover, amount to little less than a recognition of their independence.

The 7th demand was for the cession to Roumania of the Delta of the Danube and of the principal mouths of the river, which, by the Treaty of the 19th of June, 1859, the Guaranteeing Powers formally placed under the immediate sovereignty of Turkey.

Ali Bey will be directed at the same time to place himself in confidential communication with M. Bratiano, to ascertain how far he had authorized the proposals made by Sir S. Lakeman, and to obtain precise information as to his views.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 191.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 1303. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 22, 1876.*

IN a conversation which I had a few days ago with Colonel Home, regarding the measure which it appeared advisible to adopt in order to give the greatest possible amount of efficiency to the plan of defence which Her Majesty's Government have in view for this capital in case of war, that officer was especially anxious to impress upon me the extreme importance of securing an independent line of telegraph between England and the proposed works.

The telegraph lines, exclusive of the Black Sea cable, at present working between Europe and Constantinople, are three. One through Italy, entering Turkey at Vallona; a second through Austria, entering Bosnia at Gradiska, and skirting the Servian frontier to Nisch, where it is joined by the line from Belgrade; and a third by the Danube, Rustchuk, and Bulgaria.

In the event of war, and of the probable occupation of Bulgaria and Servia by a hostile force, the two last-named lines would be rendered comparatively useless, that by Vallona alone remaining available, and liable at any time to obstruction and delay.

Colonel Home's suggestion that Her Majesty's Government should provide their army with direct communication by laying a cable from Malta to Crete, where an excellent and easily-protected Turkish line extends to the capital appears, therefore, to merit especial attention.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 192.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 1305.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 23, 1876.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 538 of the 30th of August, I have the honour to inclose the copy of a note from Safvet Pasha requesting that the thanks of the Turkish Government may be expressed to the President of the Red Cross Society for the humane work undertaken by its officers, and stating that the Minister of War wishes to be provided with some more specimens of the badges and documents supplied to them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 192.

Safvet Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Sublime Porte, le 22 Novembre*, 1876.

J'AI reçu et communiqué au Ministre de la Guerre la note de votre Excellence de 13 Septembre pour me transmettre une lettre de la Société vouée à l'assistance des malades et des blessés des armées en campagne, contenant la liste ainsi que le modèle du signe distinctif, et des certificats des personnes envoyées par cette Société sur le théâtre de la guerre.

Ces pièces ont été transmises par les soins du sus-dit Département au Commandant du Corps d'Armée de Nisch, qui a reçu en même temps les instructions nécessaires pour protéger et assister les membres de la dite Société dans l'accomplissement de leur mission philanthropique. Toutefois comme il est à présumer que ces agents se dirigeront sur divers points du théâtre de la guerre, son Excellence Redif Pacha demande un certain nombre des spécimens précités pour l'information des autres commandants militaires.

En terminant, je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien faire parvenir au Président

de la Société sus-mentionnée l'expression de nos plus vifs remercîments pour cette œuvre humanitaire.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

No. 193.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 1306.) *Constantinople, November 23, 1876.*

My Lord,

ON the 3rd of April last I instructed Mr. Sandison, in communicating to Rashid Pasha a translation of Mr. Freeman's despatch to your Lordship No. 9 of the 17th of March, to assure his Excellency "of the regret with which I communicated to him the contents of this despatch.

"When authentic accounts of such abominations were received in Europe they must excite the indignation of the whole civilized world, and no surprise need be felt if public sympathy were on the side of those who struggled to free themselves from a Government under which they were exposed to treatment such as described.

"The massacre at Popojovitza, which, although denied, was an undoubted fact, remained unpunished, and now these fresh horrors were committed, which would go far to estrange from Turkey the good-will of her last friends."

I have now received from the Porte a note, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, giving an unqualified denial to Mr. Freeman's statements.

I shall forward this note to Mr. Freeman for his observations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 193.

Safvet Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

Sublime Porte, le 16 Novembre, 1876.

LA Sublime Porte vient de recevoir des renseignements positifs sur les faits relatés dans le Rapport de Mr. Freeman à l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique en date du 17 Mars dernier. Les informations authentiques recueillies sur les lieux démentent de la manière la plus formelle, soit les nouvelles que cet Agent déclare avoir reçues de Novi et de Kosanitza, soit les actes de violence et de cruauté qui auraient été commis journellement sur la frontière nord-ouest de Bosnie. Voici, d'ailleurs, quelle est en substance la réponse des autorités Impériales aux allégations contenues dans le susdit rapport.

Il n'existe dans l'arrondissement de Behke aucun village répondant au nom de "Galina," et depuis le commencement de l'insurrection il ne s'est passé dans toute l'étendue de cette arrondissement aucune fait approchant de l'histoire des deux jeunes demoiselles Strojanovich.

Grâce aux mœurs et le caractère du peuple Bosniaque, tant Musulman que Chrétien, ce genre de crimes y est presque inconnu.

Les mêmes considérations peuvent être opposées au cas de la femme enceinte qui, emportée à un "Koulé," sis près de Novi, aurait succombé à des outrages répétés; crime dont, du reste, on n'a pu trouver aucune trace, faute d'indications précises.

Vient ensuite le supplice de Radu Benjich, qui aurait été empalé le 10 Mars, et exposé près de quatre jours près de Novi. Mais cette histoire n'est pas nouvelle: les journaux de Vienne en ont parlé dès le mois de Février. Quoique Novi n'ait jamais eu à assister à un pareil acte de barbarie, le bruit qui s'est fait autour de cette affaire à cette époque a obligé les autorités Impériales d'aller aux informations. Or l'enquête ouverte sur les lieux a eu pour résultat de constater que Radu Bayovich n'était autre qu'un de ces insurgés qui étaient tombé dans une rencontre au Balkan de Juzim.

Telle est la réalité des choses en ce qui concerne cet individu.

Quant à l'affaire des quatre paysans elle n'a même pas l'avantage d'être connue dans le pays.

Celle du maître d'école Orthodoxe de Priédor n'est pas plus sérieuse. Cet homme

vit si bien que sa signature figure entre autres au bas de la déclaration par laquelle les habitants notables de cette ville viennent d'opposer un démenti si formel à la nouvelle de l'assassinat qui y aurait été commis.

Dans un autre passage du rapport susmentionné, il est question de certains faits qui se seraient passés à Ruitcha. Or, il n'existe aucun village de ce nom; il n'y a eu ni grain emporté ni maison ou église brûlée.

Il en est de même de la ville de Kenpa, qui heureusement n'a eu à subir aucun incendie, et où il ne se trouve aucun fonctionnaire ni particulier répondant au nom de Fahim Effendi.

Les habitants Musulmans de Priédor n'ont rien fait pour causer la panique en cette ville. Au contraire ce sont les Chrétiens qui ont pris les armes contre leur Gouvernement et attaqué leurs compatriotes Musulmans, avec lesquelles ils n'avaient jamais cessé cependant d'entretenir des rapports de liberté et de confiance mutuelle. Serait-il juste de rendre ces derniers responsables de la conduite de ceux qui ont abandonné leurs foyers pour se réfugier en Autriche sous prétexte d'insécurité?

La véritable cause de cette émigration réside ailleurs que dans l'attitude des populations Musulmanes; la masse du peuple, qui est ignorante et facile à tromper, cédant soit aux instigations des gens malintentionnés venus de l'étranger, soit aux lettres ménaçantes reçues du territoire voisin, soit enfin aux violences des insurgés, a pris le parti de se transporter en Autriche.

Peine inutile, car ceux qui sont restés dans leur pays continuent à jouir de la plus grande sécurité, sous les auspices des autorités Impériales, malgré les publications contraires qui se produisent périodiquement, et dont une déclaration signée par les notables des populations Chrétiennes vient de faire justice.

Pour ce qui est des six commerçants qui ont été arrêtés à Priédor, ils ne sont pas aussi innocents qu'on a l'air de le croire; leur complicité résultant clairement d'un papier trouvé sur un individu portant le costume Serb et qui avait perdu la vie à Gradova, dans un engagement entre les troupes Impériales et une bande d'insurgés. Comme signataires de ce document les six commerçants en question ont été mis en état d'arrestation et conduits à Bobké, où ils ont subi un interrogatoire. Leurs déclarations jointes à l'étendard révolutionnaire, qui a été retiré de l'Église de Priédor, établissent suffisamment leur degré de culpabilité.

Malgré cela, ils n'ont été en butte à aucun mauvais traitement, encore moins les autorités ont-elles pu leur demander de l'argent ou employer des moyens d'intimidation à leur égard. Excepté le nommé Paro Vokich, qui a été tué par suite d'une résistance armée à la force publique, et non pour le motif allégué par l'auteur du rapport, tous les autres prisonniers ont été amnistiés et renvoyés à Priédor, après une certaine détention.

Voila, dans toute leur simplicité, les faits constatés sur les lieux et corroborés par la déclaration unanime des membres Musulmans et Chrétiens du Conseil Administratif de Bobké.

Après une démonstration si complète et si positive il ne reste qu'à faire à chacun sa part de responsabilité. Certes, il serait à désirer que l'œuvre de la pacification avançat plus rapidement; mais si cela n'a pas eu lieu il serait peu juste de l'attribuer à l'attitude des autorités ou des populations Musulmanes plutôt qu'aux instigations passionnées qui ont pour effet d'égarer l'opinion publique.

No. 194.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 1307.) *Constantinople, November 23, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of various documents relating to the state of affairs in Bulgaria, viz., a letter from Saadoullah Bey to the Grand Vizier; an extract of a letter from Mr. Stoney, distributing agent of the Central Relief Committee, to Mr. Wrench; a note from the Porte, and my reply thereto.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 194.

Saadoulah Bey to the Grand Vizier.

21 *Ramazan.*

(Traduction.)

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir le télégramme chiffré que votre Altesse a bien voulu m'adresser le 23 Septembre relativement aux instructions données à Mr. Sandison, à la suite du rapport adressé de Bazardjik par Mr. Baring, et pour me demander mes propres renseignements à ce sujet.

Il est dit dans les instructions précitées que l'on n'a pris encore ici aucune mesure pour assurer l'ordre et la tranquillité, que les Pomaks continuent à être armés, attaquent sans cesse les populations et commettent sur elles toutes sortes de cruautés, que les habitants Chrétiens n'osent point pénétrer dans les forêts pour y couper le bois nécessaire à la réconstruction de leurs maisons, qu'il se commet journellement des actes d'assassinat et de vol, que la haine des Musulmans pour les Bulgares est très violente et qu'elle ménace de prendre des proportions plus considérables si l'on ne met pas à la disposition des autorités locales une force armée de 3,000 hommes, et enfin que les individus impliqués dans les derniers événements et que l'on avait arrêtés ont été relâchés.

Il est évident que la tranquillité n'est pas encore complètement rétablie et la confiance rentrée dans les esprits sur les points qui ont tout récemment été agités par les troubles: les vols y sont, il est vrai, plus fréquents que dans les temps ordinaires; mais il est tout à fait inexact que des assassinats se commettent journellement; depuis que notre Commission se trouve dans ces parages, deux seuls cas d'assassinat ont eu lieu dans le district de Philippopoli. J'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-jointe à votre Altesse, pour son information, le procès-verbal du Medjlissi Temijiz, contenant les détails de ces crimes, et les noms des meurtriers comme ceux de leurs victimes.

D'après ce que nous avons pu constater nous-mêmes à Batak, à Derbend, et à Peroustitza, villages situés sur les deux rives de la Maritza, ainsi que dans les autres villages que nous avons visités, une certaine inimitié existe en effet entre les Bulgares, qui ont assassiné des Musulmans, et les parents de ceux-ci, mais nous n'avons rien vu encore qui pût prouver la haine violente dont parle Mr. Baring.

Quant aux habitants Musulmans des autres villages, ils disent qu'ils ont toujours vecu en frères avec les Chrétiens, que l'insurrection a été provoquée sur des instigations étrangères, et ne parlent qu'avec regret des événements qui se sont accomplis. Ils savent que leurs intérêts étant liés avec ceux des Chrétiens, ils ne peuvent que souffrir des malheurs arrivés à ceux-ci, et viennent par conséquent à leur aide en leur fournissant, avec le plus grand empressement, du bois pour la réconstruction de leurs maisons. En somme, pendant que les Musulmans assistent ainsi leurs compatriotes Bulgares, les habitants des villages Chrétiens n'oséinant un bourg complètement détruit et qui a un besoin pressant de secours comme Batak, loin de le sécourir, refusent de travailler, même moyennant salaire, à la réconstruction de ses maisons.

Une lettre du Caïmacam de Bazardjik constatant ce fait se trouve pour être examinée entre les mains de la Commission. Si donc les Bulgares craignent encore d'aller couper du bois dans les forêts, on ne saurait attribuer cette crainte rien qu'au manque de confiance.

Pour ce qui est des troupes se trouvant ici, j'ai déjà eu l'honneur d'informer votre Altesse par ma lettre du 11 Juillet, 1292, que ce pays ayant été le théâtre de grands événements, et étant devenu le passage d'un grand nombre de soldats se rendant en Serbie, il était nécessaire, afin de prévenir toute éventualité de troubles, d'y entretenir des troupes en nombre suffisant. A la suite de l'autorisation de votre Excellence un bataillon est arrivé dernièrement ici de Sophia et 150 cavaliers sont déjà en route venant d'Andrinople. Un renfort de 300 à 400 zaptiehs a été demandé des districts environnants. En dehors de ces forces un bataillon des Redifs du troisième bans se trouve dans le district de Philippopoli, trois pélotons de ce bataillon sont dans la ville même, quatre à Bazardjik et à Kalofer; il y a en outre à Bazardjik un escadron de cavalerie. Ainsi que votre Altesse le verra par la lecture de la liste ci-jointe, le nombre des Zaptiehs se trouvant ici, d'après la nouvelle organisation, ne s'élève pas, officiers compris, à moins de 1,243 hommes. L'enrôlement de nouveaux Zaptiehs à Philippopoli n'ayant pu s'effectuer, on a demandé des Zaptiehs aux districts environnants, mais dans la prévision qu'ils n'arrivent pas dans un court espace de temps, je prie votre Altesse de faire expédier un ou deux escadrons de cavalerie. D'après les indications qui précèdent, les autorités locales peuvent disposer d'un nombre de soldats égal à celui que Mr. Baring croit nécessaire pour maintenir l'ordre. Les cavaliers qui doivent arriver seront divisés en colonnes et placés en garde aux environs de la ville. De cette manière il sera mis un terme aux actes dont on se plaint, et qui peuvent, d'ailleurs, être commis même dans les temps calmes. Les Bulgares, protégés aujourd'hui par l'Europe, tâchent d'obtenir la réalisation de leurs desseins en excitant l'intérêt et la sympathie des Puissances à leur égard; par une grande exagération des faits que sont passés, ils veulent faire croire à tout le monde que leur situation présente et leur avenir se trouvent en danger.

Cette circonstance mérite l'attention de votre Altesse.

Quant à la mise en liberté de ceux qui avaient été impliqués dans les derniers événements, il résulte des renseignements que nous avons recueillis à ce sujet que le nommé Alisch Pehlivan, impliqué dans les troubles de Batak, avait été arrêté par les soins des autorités locales de Bazardjik sur la demande de Blaque Bey et de Yovantcho Effendi, lors de leur mission en Bulgarie, mais qu'à leur retour à Philippopoli ces deux Commissaires ayant déclaré que n'étant pas chargés du jugement de ceux qui avaient joué un rôle dans les derniers événements, il était convenable de relâcher, sous caution, le susnommé Alisch Pehlivan, en attendant le commencement de son interrogatoire, un télégramme du Mutessarif enjoignit aux autorités de Bazardjik de mettre en liberté, sous caution, l'individu dont il s'agit. Toutefois Alisch Pehlivan se trouve actuellement avec tous les autres prévenus entre les mains des autorités, et une fois leur jugement terminé, j'aurai l'honneur de faire connaître à votre Altesse les décisions qui auront été prises à leur égard.

Inclosure 2 in No. 194.

Mr. Stoney to Consul Wrench.

Hissar, November 13, 1876.

(Extract.)

JUST returned from Hairnulu, a Turkish village between Sindjerli and Novo Zelo, or Yenikeui, which suffered considerably at the hands of those two villages in the very beginning of the insurrection. Twelve men were caught returning from the market at Karlova, and chopped to pieces in the streets of Sindjerli. Same day six others were massacred at a mill near Yenikeui, and six, taken prisoners, were carried to the church of Yenikeui, and there shot through the windows. At the same time, ten Tchingaris, of Hairnulu, were killed. I have taken down the names of the men killed, and have seen their widows and children, who are living in a large farm-house, supported by the other villagers. They number thirty-five widows and fifty-six children, and are but badly off. The whole village contains but 100 houses. I promised 50*l.* for food for the women and children, and hope to give more later on. I consider them as well deserving of charity as their neighbours who attacked them, and to whom we gave relief. I have got the names of other Turkish villages which suffered in those first days, and will visit as many as I can of them. When the Turks had their innings they completely destroyed Sindjerli and Yenikeui, though they spared Kessular and Dudjin, which had not risen against them.

Inclosure 3 in No. 194.

Memorandum.

LE Ministère Impérial a reçu les informations les plus satisfaisantes sur la marche de l'enquête ouverte en Bulgarie.

La Commission Extraordinaire, dont la composition offre toutes les garanties d'indépendance et d'impartialité voulues, répond parfaitement au but qui avait présidé à son institution. Les cas qui lui sont soumis sont examinés avec un soin minutieux soit en séance plenière, soit en présence de deux membres, dont l'un Musulman et l'autre Chrétien.

Cette Commission s'est transportée dernièrement à Batak, et ne l'a quitté qu'après avoir pris les informations nécessaires sur les hommes et les choses de cette localité. De retour à Peshtra et plus tard à Philippopoli, elle a fait venir et entendu en leurs dires et explications un certain nombre d'habitants de Batak et des villages circonvoisins.

L'enquête continue; prisonniers et autres, tous sont interrogés et examinés contradictoirement. En un mot, la Commission s'acquitte de son mandat dans des conditions de célérité qui ne laisse rien à désirer.

Pour ce qui est de l'assertion comme quoi il y aurait en prison bon nombre de Bulgares innocents, elle n'est rien moins qu'exacte. Sur une centaine de détenus on ne pourrait indiquer un seul homme qui ne fût impliqué dans le mouvement révolutionnaire; les uns étaient accusés de meurtre, les autres du crime d'incendie. Ils allaient être condamnés lorsque l'amnistie générale est venue les restituer au droit commun; le Tribunal de Temyiz, saisi de leurs affaires, a déjà mis en liberté ceux qui étaient en état de profiter de cet acte de grâce souverain; il ne reste plus en prison que cinquante-neuf individus, dont quarante-huit prévenus d'assassinat, et le reste du crime d'incendie. Si parmi ces gens il y en a encore qui puissent être pardonnés, ils seront relâchés après examen. Un Tribunal provisoire a été, d'ailleurs, adjoint au Temyiz pour assurer l'achèvement de cette tâche aussi promptement que possible.

La marche des affaires n'est pas moins régulière dans d'autres localités. A Sofia, il n'y a eu en tout que vingt-deux arrestations déterminées par les mêmes motifs et qui justifiées déjà par des jugements de première instance, n'attendent pour application de la loi que le prononcé de la sentence du Temyiz. A ce nombre sont venus s'ajouter plus tard neuf individus qui, échappés un moment aux poursuites de la justice, ont fini par tomber entre les mains des autorités. Une enquête spéciale a été ouverte à ce sujet, et l'instruction se poursuit activement.

On peut en dire autant d'Andrinople. Sur les trente-deux individus déférés au Tribunal de Temyiz, dix-neuf ont été amnistiés et mis en liberté sous caution, neuf sont poursuivis comme assassins par les héritiers des victimes, deux ont subi déjà leur condamnation, et deux autres, reconnus comme instigateurs et chefs d'insurgés, ont été conduits à Philippopoli et à Selimno pour l'examen des faits qui leur sont imputés.

A Pazardjik le nombre des détenus ne s'élève guère à plus de sept; ils sont tous accusés de meurtre.

Voilà quel est le chiffre exact de ceux qui sont poursuivis d'après la loi. En dehors de ces gens il n'existe, qu'on sache, aucun prisonnier, surtout de prisonnier innocent.

Sublime Porte, le 22 Novembre, 1876.

Inclosure 4 in No. 194.

Note-Verbale.

Constantinople, November 23, 1876.

HER Majesty's Embassy has read the notice of the Sublime Porte on the subject of the Bulgarians still kept in prison.

It is asserted in this notice that not one of those now confined is innocent, but Her Majesty's Embassy must take leave to point out that this is a question which can only be decided by their being brought to a fair trial.

A simple denunciation or accusation is not a proof of guilt, and the fact of many of the accused having been already acquitted upon trial, shows that, as must always occur, there were many innocent persons among the arrested.

It cannot be doubted that the same will be found with respect to some of those still in prison, although the Sublime Porte, without waiting for their trial, has felt warranted in declaring them all guilty.

Her Majesty's Embassy must, therefore, again express the hope that these prisoners may, with the least possible delay, be brought to trial in order that their guilt or innocence may be established.

Although the reports received from Philippopolis of the proceedings of the Commission are very far from satisfactory, Her Majesty's Embassy hopes that the result may justify the more favourable accounts given by the Sublime Porte.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 195.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 1308.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 23, 1876.

THE first question likely to arise upon the arrival of the Marquis of Salisbury will relate to the character to be given to the preliminary meetings of the foreign Representatives.

I have informed your Lordship by telegraph of the fear entertained by Safvet Pasha that resolutions might be adopted at those meetings to be merely submitted afterwards to the Conference for its ratification.

This is, unquestionably, the aim of the Russian Ambassador, who would thus practically attain the original wish of his Government for a Conference of the Christian Powers, to decide upon arrangements to be imposed upon the Porte.

General Ignatiew, at a meeting of his colleagues this afternoon, spoke of the necessity of making an arrangement for seconding formally what passed at those preliminary meetings, with a view to the avoidance of future misunderstandings.

I said that, till the arrival of the instructions which Lord Salisbury would bring, I should have no information enabling me to judge whether Her Majesty's Government intended the meetings in question to be of the formal nature he seemed to anticipate.

The anxiety of the Russian Government to make it appear that whatever is done for the Christians is done by the Powers, and not by the Porte, is as marked as ever. The object is to weaken the authority of the Sultan, and to teach the populations that they have only the foreign Governments to look to for protection, which cannot be the wish of the Governments which sincerely desire the maintenance of this Empire at the same time as the removal of the grievances which lead to discontent and insurrection.

The one broad principle upon which we can all agree is the equality of all the Sultan's subjects of whatever race or religion.

This exists in theory, but in theory alone, already, and our object must be to remove the disqualifications under which the Christians still labour.

The acceptance of Christian evidence in all causes in which Christians are interested; the participation of Christian Judges in mixed cases; the immediate admission of Christians into the police force, and their gradual incorporation into the army; and the employment of a fair proportion of Christians in all offices of the central, and still more of the provincial Administration; are principal measures required.

The Porte should make known to the Powers the manner in which it proposes to carry these measures out, and it will be for the Conference to examine how far the proposals seem calculated to attain the object.

The grievances to be removed exist in all parts of European Turkey, and the remedies must be applied to all alike, unless the seeds of future insurrections are to be sown in other provinces, which are entitled to equal consideration, but which, not being Slav, are regarded with indifference by Russia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 196.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 1309.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 23, 1876.

A TURKISH General and Ismail Bey, one of the Members of the Philippopolis Commission, have been ordered to proceed to Boyadjikeui to inquire into the conduct of Chefket Pasha at that village.

I intimated to Safvet Pasha that Her Majesty's Government would not be satisfied with an inquiry in which no Christian took part, especially as Ismail Bey had already shown little evidence of impartiality in the inquiries in which he had taken part.

In consequence of my representations a Christian member will be placed upon this Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 197.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 207. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, November 20, 1876.*

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph on the 17th and 18th instant that General Tchernaieff's projected mission to the Russian Court having been given up, M. Marinovitch would be sent instead.

This gentleman started yesterday for his destination, in company of M. de Karlzoff, the Russian Agent here, and told me he expected to reach St. Petersburgh on the 26th instant.

He is a *persona grata* at that Court, and is much liked by Prince Gortchakow and by the Emperor, having, whenever he held the office of Prime Minister in Servia, paid particular attention to the views and wishes of the Imperial Court.

I have had occasion to see constantly M. Marinovitch during the last twelve months, and I consider him a perfectly honest and upright man, and extremely anxious for the future of his country, which he considers as put in peril by the present war and by the exclusive influence of an ambitious Russian party.

He assured his friends here on his departure that he would do all in his power to obtain a clearer view of the Czar's intentions respecting Servia ("de mettre les choses au clair"), and he left apparently convinced that, unless Austro-Hungarian neutrality and the active support of Russia were both perfectly assured, it would be folly for his country to expose itself any longer to the entire brunt of a war to which he had been all along opposed.

The choice of M. Marinovitch to undertake this mission was due to the express wish of the Russian Court, and it is understood that it was by no means approved by Messrs. Tchernaieff and Ristitch, or agreeable to M. Karlzoff.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 198.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 208. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, November 21, 1876.*

IT is impossible to say as yet whether the Serbian Government intend or not, renewing next year the war so disastrously brought to a sudden stop by the defeat of Djunis, the loss of Alexinatz, and the Armistice.

The country is certainly sadly impoverished, and exhausted, and numerous signs would point to a certain degree of discouragement; but numerous warlike stores continue to be provided, as if for a fresh campaign; and the existing confidence that this time Holy Russia will come to the front, and that Austro-Hungary is neutralized by some potent agency, prevent the advocates of peace from getting the upper hand.

General Tchernieff has taken up his residence at Belgrade, and has taken the direction of a re-organization of the militia. Many Russian volunteers have left, but there are some fresh arrivals; and however much the peasantry are disheartened, it is asserted that it will be possible to form a corps capable of co-operating with a Russian army in Bulgaria.

As it is admitted that the Danube has always proved a powerful impediment to any Russian invading army, military men here think that it would be possible for a *corps d'armée* to cross that river from Roumania into Serbia at Khadowa, and to operate across this Principality on the Timok, thus turning Widdin and the Balkans, and drawing its supplies from Transylvania and Hungary, always supposing the latter Kingdom to continue neutral.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 199.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 209. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, November 24, 1876.*

I AM confidentially informed that General Tchernieff has been recommending Prince Milan to liberate himself from the trammels of a "Régime," which is yelped here by the name of a Constitutional one, and has tried to induce him to abrogate the Constitution promulgated during His Highness' minority, and which is now in force; and to introduce some more simple form of government giving the Prince more real power.

The enmity between the Prince and his leading Minister, M. Ristics, is as deep as ever, and they hate each other most cordially, though neither of them has the courage to part from the other.

To thwart his Minister and to control his numerous adherents at Belgrade, Prince Milan had called to his side a battalion exclusively composed of Russian soldiers and commanded by a Russian Colonel.

This officer, having been told by General Tchernieff a few days ago that extensive powers were to be conferred upon him for the purpose of upholding the cause of order in the capital, and of defending the Prince against his enemies, is said, as I am told in the strictest confidence, to have replied as follows:—

"I followed you here, General, to fight in defence of Slavonic interests and of a sacred cause dear to all good Russians, but not to serve the projects of Prince Milan or any one else in such a way as this," and he employed to qualify this peculiar kind of duty a Russian word equivalent to that of "Sbire" in French.

The General denied any intention to favour arbitrary proceedings, but no one can tell what may turn up yet before this country settles down after the delusive convulsions of the last few months.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 200.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 211. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, November 25, 1876.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram, Confidential, of the 7th instant, to which I had the honour to reply by telegraph on the 16th instant, and also to your Lordship's despatches Nos. 35 and 37, Confidential, of October and of the 7th instant, I have the honour to report what follows.

The acts of licentiousness attributed to the Russian soldiers serving as volunteers in the Servian army are believed by many natives, but it is quite impossible to authenticate any particular instances, nor will it be possible to do so as long as political interests attach this country so strongly to Russia, and until the public men here find it convenient to speak more freely on this subject.

For my part, I believe there is much exaggeration in these reports, and the only case which appears to me authenticated is the pillaging of the house of an Austrian subject at Yagodina, which was mentioned to me by his Consul-General, Prince Wrede.

No doubt Russians are, in that class of life frequently addicted to drunkenness, a vice extremely rare in Servia, and it is not all impossible that when in that condition, they may have committed a few gross outrages at a distance from Belgrade.

In this city they are accused of being extremely violent when in a state of insobriety in the cafés, and also at night in the streets, and they are far from being popular amongst the lower classes here, who, having no regular army of their own, are not accustomed to the arrogance and to the liberties taken by soldiers in military despotic States.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 201.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 212. Political.)

Belgrade, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

IN continuation of the subject of my previous despatch, and with reference to the queries contained in that of your Lordship's No. 35, Confidential, I have the honour to state as follows:—

1. The Russian soldiers serving here consisted either of men on long furlough or of such who had served their time some years back, almost all were such as had served in the Caucasus or were Cossacks, a few had the Crimean medal, and there is no evidence that any privates had been allowed to leave their regiments for this purpose, though there is no doubt that many officers were allowed to do this, ostensibly resigning their actual commission in the Imperial army, the same must have been the case with the non-commissioned officers, as both these have been recalled back to their regiments within the last few days in considerable numbers since the mobilization commenced.

2. The Societies which have been sending money for the purpose of keeping up the war in Servia are bodies enjoying a quasi-recognition on the part of the Imperial family, something like our Royal Societies at home, and as far as I am cognizant of Russian legislation it depends very much on an expression of the will of the reigning Sovereign, the present Emperor having in a recent speech at Moscow spoken favourably of the Russian volunteers serving in Servia. His Majesty has thus given a legislative approbation of their having been sent to fight here—a precedent which Russia may have occasion to regret some day, if officers belonging to a neutral nation should ever lead hostile soldiers against a Russian army.

From an international point of view two points may be noticed in the action of the Sclavonic Committees in Russia as highly objectionable, viz., the enlistment which has been openly carried on by them in Russia for the Servian army, though it is pretended that as no Foreign Enlistment Act exists in Russia no municipal law is thereby violated.

The second reprehensible practice has consisted in an abuse of the Convention of Geneva by conveying to Servia under the symbols of the Red Cross warlike apparel, and probably small arms and other portable material from Russia, whilst officers in uniform travelled thence through Hungary and Roumania to the seat of war under the protection of the Russian Red Cross Societies and with certificates delivered by them.

The funds sent here by these and by Sclavonic Committees have been exclusively managed and distributed here either by General Tchernaieff or by agents sent for the purpose from Moscow to St. Petersburgh. These funds were available for the pay and expenses of the Russian volunteers; but I presume the Russian authorities do not consider any of these acts as breaches of neutrality, or else I cannot account for the fact that official encouragement was given in all parts of the Empire to patronize and assist the collection of funds which have been thus used or abused quite openly.

As regards the third question, I do not believe that any cannon or rifles came here from Russia during this war, as far as I can learn those in use by this army and militia have been here before the war commenced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 202.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 203. Political.)

Belgrade, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to me by M. Ristics, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the alleged Turkish excesses in the occupation of Alexinatz.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 202.

M. Ristitch to Consul-General White.

Belgrade, le 25 Novembre, 1876.

M. l'Agent,

J'AI le regret d'avoir à porter aujourd'hui à votre connaissance les actes de cruauté commis par l'armée Turque lors de l'occupation d'Alexinatz.

L'évacuation d'Alexinatz ayant été résolue pour éviter à la veille de l'armistice une effusion inutile de sang, et si possible l'incendie de la ville, ordre fut donné le 15/30 Octobre aux habitants qui y restaient d'avoir à l'abandonner. Soit pour cause de maladie, soit faute de moyens de transport, un certain nombre de familles durent remettre leur départ au lendemain matin.

Le 17 la cavalerie Turque franchit la Morava à Bohovichté, intercepta la route de Bania et se mit à faire la chasse aux habitants inoffensifs qui se retiraient.

Ces cavaliers ont ainsi tué Milovan Tsifounatz et sa femme, Trifoun Trifounatz, Givko de Lotjiko, Lazare Cretcovitch, et la femme de Kotcha Nicarouschitch.

Une femme du village de Vacoup, qui allaitait son plus jeune enfant et en conduisait deux autres, fut atteinte par les cavaliers. Ils massacrèrent d'abord les deux derniers, se jettèrent les uns aux autres le plus jeune en le recevant à la pointe de leurs sabres, puis enfin tuèrent la mère.

Outre les personnes ci-dessus nommées environ cinquante autres, pour la plupart femmes et enfants, ont perdu la vie de la même manière.

Tels sont les faits, M. l'Agent, que j'ai dû vous signaler et qui prouvent que l'armée Ottomane continue à renouveler partout où elle en trouve l'occasion les massacres de populations inoffensives en dépit de l'indignation générale que ces actes ont excitée en Europe.

En vous priant de porter ce qui précède à la connaissance de votre haut Gouvernement.

Je saisis, &c.
(Signé) J. RISTITCH.

No. 203.

Vice-Consul Jago to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 2. Political.)

Damascus, November 21, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting on the state of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. S. JAGO.

Inclosure in No. 203.

Vice-Consul Jago to Sir H. Elliot.

Damascus, November 21, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the last levy of Redifs (amounting, as I am told by the military authorities, to 150,000 men for the whole of the Empire) is now being proceeded with in this vilayet. Between 2,000 and 3,000 men are required from Damascus and the surrounding villages. They will, however, be kept in barracks here till further orders.

This levy partakes somewhat of the character of a *levée en masse*, the exceptions hitherto allowed being no longer permitted.

The misery caused by this measure is very great, many families being bereft of bread-winners, while the absence of any system of relief reduces numbers of them to the verge of starvation. This sad state of things is unfortunately augmented by commercial stagnation and want of confidence, which, combined with the almost total lack of ready money, even among those formerly esteemed rich, tend to the general depression.

Much discontent prevails among the Moslems owing to the heavy calls of the conscription and to the distress thereby entailed upon their families; but this discontent, although openly expressed, has not manifested itself in a manner hostile to their Christian and Jewish fellows, their behaviour to whom is most exemplary. Among all classes there is but one desire, and that is for peace.

With all this, however, the fears of both Christian and Jews are excited by present political events, and by the idea of possible future complications, and these fears are apt to degenerate into panic on the slightest occasion. For instance, three days since, while several hundred of the Redifs, after being collected in the various quarters of the city, were being marched to barracks through the bazaars, attended by their families, and indulging in warlike songs and demonstrations, chiefly directed against Russia, a Christian shopkeeper was seen to laugh, and was thereupon beaten with the hand on the supposition that he was deriding their misery.

Panic instantly seized upon the Christian traders, who closed their shops and rushed to the Christian quarter proclaiming that the Moslems had risen, and thereby creating an alarm and panic which only subsided when in the course of a few hours the facts became known. A few also fled from the city.

The Governor-General in speaking with me on the subject the same day, deprecated the constant fears of the Christians, commented upon the hardships and misery entailed upon the Redifs, and stated that the Christians had no cause for alarm. He said, also, that the offenders had been arrested.

Whether this has been done or not I do not know, but warlike demonstrations on like occasions have been prohibited.

A battalion of Redifs enrolled some time since left for Beyrout ten days ago. Many of the men were accompanied by their wives and children. The equipment generally of the troops was most deficient.

Cavalry escorted them to prevent desertion and pilfering, French property having been plundered on a former occasion on the march to the sea coast.

The Governor-General left a few hours after the panic for Beyrout for a sojourn of a few days, leaving the Defterdar as acting Vali.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. S. JAGO.

No. 204.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 3. Confidential.)
Berlin, November 29, 1876.

My Lord,

I ARRIVED in Berlin last evening, and was met at the station by Mr. Dering, who brought a message from Prince Bismarck expressing a wish to see me at once.

I accordingly called upon his Excellency at 10 o'clock, and remained with him for more than an hour, during which he expounded to me his views of the Eastern question and of the policy which ought to be pursued by Germany in the present crisis.

He assured me that the firm resolution which he had formed not to interfere in the affairs of the East implied no want of friendliness towards England. The ground of this resolution appeared to be twofold. In the first place he considered that the task which Her Majesty's Government were undertaking was a hopeless one. Turkey, he said, could not be resuscitated, and he would not depart from the course he had determined on for an object which he believed to be illusory. If he were to offer advice to Russia, the position of Germany would make such advice equivalent to a threat; and although it might be effectual, Russia would not fail to remember it against Germany "a little time hence."

The view taken by his Excellency of the prospects of peace was very gloomy. He did not think it possible that the Russian Government, after doing so much, would draw back; but he was of opinion that they had much underrated the difficulty of the task they had undertaken, and he doubted their being able to get across the Balkan.

He suggested that England should take Egypt as her share of the spoils of Turkey. At the end of the conversation, when he appeared to have gathered the conviction that I could hold out no hope of our viewing the occupation with indifference, he said that he thought it would be very useful to European civilization if we were to occupy Constantinople; but he urged repeatedly that, if a decision became necessary, Her Majesty's Government should not in any case act upon it at the first movement on the part of

Russia. He believed that events would very likely bring her enterprise to an end, and that when she began to feel the exhaustion of men and money consequent on the war she would be accessible to reasonable terms.

No Power not having command of the sea could, he said, hold Constantinople, and we could therefore well afford to wait, and not commit ourselves to war with Russia until it became absolutely necessary.

The impression which Prince Bismarck's language gave me was that he has no love for Russia. He spoke frequently, with satisfaction, of the difficulties which he believed that Russia would encounter should she invade Bulgaria.

His Highness' language as to Count Andrassy was friendly, but slightly contemptuous. Of the Emperor of Austria he spoke with bitter resentment. He did not mention France; but the impression he left on my mind was that she chiefly occupies his thoughts, and shares them with the religious quarrel in which he is engaged, and that he does not mean to allow any other object to alienate from him friends who might be useful to him in the hour of trial to which he is looking forward.

On the whole I think that we may reckon upon the assistance of Germany, in the Conference, in arriving at any solution that seems practical; but Prince Bismarck does not believe in a solution, and is only occupied with settling what shall be done when the Turkish Empire falls to pieces. He plans a re-arrangement of the map of Europe, in which Bosnia and the Herzegovina would fall to the share of Austria, Egypt to Great Britain, Bulgaria possibly to Russia, while the Turks would keep Stamboul with some of the surrounding country, like the Eastern Empire in its latest days, and the rest of the Turkish Empire would be handed over to Greece.

Prince Bismarck thinks that Count Andrassy, although not wishing to occupy Bosnia, would not refuse to do so if circumstances called for it. In this opinion his Highness differs somewhat from the Duc Decazes, who expressed to me his belief that the Count is trying to bring about the occupation of those Provinces by Austria.

I have to-day had the honour of being received by the Emperor, who takes a more hopeful view of affairs than the Chancellor, and thinks that, if reasonable guarantees for reforms in Turkey can be arranged by the Conference, an occupation of Turkish territory by Russia may be averted.

His Imperial Majesty announced, however, the entire neutrality of Germany in case of a difference between England and Russia in terms more absolute than those employed by Prince Bismarck. He could not, he said, influence the Emperor Alexander in the sense of peace officially, but he would do so privately. He had indeed written to His Majesty quite recently with that object, and showed me his answer, which was couched in very reassuring terms.

I said, both to the Emperor and to Prince Bismarck that, if Russia forbore from occupation, which England regarded as inadmissible, I had great hopes of a satisfactory settlement; and I assured them that Her Majesty's Government were as anxious as any other Power for reforms in the administration of the Turkish Provinces, and for proper guarantees for their execution. I expressed no opinion as to the various plans suggested for dealing with the Turkish Empire in the event of its breaking up, as these depend on the failure of the Conference—a contingency which is not contemplated in my instructions.

I may add that His Imperial Majesty and the Crown Prince, who honoured me with a visit, both hinted at the occupation by England of Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 205.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 4.)
Berlin, November 29, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAD the honour of being received by the Emperor of Germany at an audience this afternoon.

His Imperial Majesty expressed earnest hopes for the preservation of peace, and said that he had used and would continue to use his utmost personal influence with the Emperor of Russia for that purpose.

His Majesty stated his opinion that the course taken by the Emperor Alexander was imposed upon him by circumstances, and by the oppression to which those of his own religion had been subjected under Turkish rule.

He trusted, however, that by the concession of reasonable reforms in the administration of the Turkish Provinces, combined with guarantees for their execution, the necessity for an occupation of Turkish territory might be avoided.

His Majesty considered that it was impossible for Europe any longer to accept the mere promises of the Porte, and that it was indispensable that satisfactory guarantees against the continuance of the evils under which the Christians in Turkey were suffering should be arranged.

I stated to His Majesty that it was the full intention of Her Majesty's Government to insist on the provisions of adequate guarantees, but at the same time I said that I feared that an occupation of Turkish territory would lead to war, and that the limits of such a war could not be foreseen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 206.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 36. Political. Confidential.)
Bucharest, November 24, 1876.

My Lord,

I LOSE no time in addressing your Lordship on the subject of the inclosed telegram, which I received in cypher from Sir Henry Elliot, the day before yesterday.

Ali Bey, with whom I am intimately acquainted, had up to yesterday's date not arrived in Bucharest.

With reference to the latter part of the telegram, it is most important that Ali Bey should learn M. Bratiano's views from his own lips.

Sir Stephen Lakeman is a thoroughly unreliable person; he often volunteers information to me, which I have invariably found to be incorrect.

He has the reputation at this place of being half-crazed, and without throwing any slur on his intentions it is not too much to say that not one-tenth of what he says is worthy of belief.

He has often talked wildly to me of an Anglo-Turkish campaign on the Danube, with a British force at Silistria, Nicopoli, and Rustchuk; of the co-operation of the Roumanian army;—and never failing to add that he presumed that the command of the latter would be conferred on himself.

He was with me half-an-hour before he started for Constantinople, and I pushed him very much as the character of his mission; he expressed himself in the vaguest manner, and told me that M. Bratiano had begged him to do something: but in his vehement tirades I could arrive at no definite idea as to that something, and he could only say that he meant to see Sir H. Elliot and sound the Porte. I strongly suspect that Sir Stephen is, to a great extent, fathering his own views on M. Bratiano; the latter is silent, answers little, and perhaps Sir Stephen took his silence for complete assent.

M. Rosetti, President of the Chamber, two days since, said to the French Agent: "Si nous devons subir une influence étrangère, nous la préférons du côté Turque plutôt que de la Russie."

I have no idea whatever that this Government is prepared to incontinently side with Porte; they will try to maintain their neutrality, and, when the moment comes, protest against the passage of the Russian armies.

I do not believe that the present Ministry at any rate would openly side with Russia; but it appears to me wholly improbable that a Turkish and Roumanian force would be found cordially fighting in strict alliance.

In return for the concessions which the Porte is prepared to make, M. Bratiano may perhaps make use of encouraging language to Ali Bey, but in my humble opinion the Porte should not place too much reliance on such assurances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 206.

Sir H. Elliot to Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)
Constantinople, November 2, 1876.

THE President of the Danubian Commission is ordered from Galatz to Bucharest, to inform the Roumanian Government of the answer which the Porte is prepared to make to the demands, the substance of which was given in Mr. St. John's despatch of July 1st.

The answer is favourable as regards all the demands except the second and the seventh, which, as regarding matters depending on Treaties, the Porte declares its incompetence to deal with.

Sir Stephen Lakeman left yesterday, and, as foreseen, made proposals for putting the Roumanian army at the disposal of the Porte.

He stated himself acting under secret instructions from M. Bratiano, whose views Ali Bey is desired confidentially to ascertain. Consider this very confidential.

No. 207.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 37. Political.)
Bucharest, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

IT may be interesting to your Lordship to learn that the Roumanian Agents in the various great capitals have received the most encouraging assurances respecting the neutrality of this country under existing circumstances.

The Porte replied that the Ottoman Government regards the Danube as their line of defence, and that Roumania could never, as far as the Porte was concerned, become the theatre of hostilities.

Prince Gortchakow stated that the Emperor had every desire to respect the neutrality of Roumania and the wish of Prince Charles' Government to avoid all complications, that, whatever might happen, no detriment should accrue to the United Principalities.

At Berlin, the answer vaguely hoped, that the neutrality of Roumania would not be called in question; that there was every hope that matters in the East would arrive at a peaceful solution.

The Duc Decazes expressed a lively sympathy for Roumania, highly approved their neutral policy, and trusted that peace would attend the labours of the Conference.

At Vienna alone some sensitiveness seems to have been displayed; M. Balatchano was told that a vassal state, pretending to a policy of neutrality, indicated a desire to break loose from the Suzerain power, and appeared to smack of independence.

The Roumanian Agent replied that their relations with the Porte were on the best possible footing; that the Government of Prince Charles had no intention or desire to weaken their connection with Constantinople, which was the best guarantee for the free operation of their institutions and development of their country; that the course pursued by the Roumanian Government had been open and consistent from the beginning of the present difficulties in the east, and that an inference on the part of the Austrian Government, that Roumania aspired to a final independence, was wholly unjustifiable.

It is not necessary for me to refer to anything that may have passed between your Lordship, the Marquis of Salisbury, and Prince John Ghika; but the Roumanian Government has the highest appreciation of the manner in which Prince Ghika has been received by your Lordship and the Marquis, and feel confident that they will have all reasonable support from Her Majesty's Government in this question.

M. Bratiano, as may be supposed, is extremely gratified at the manner in which the representations of the Roumanian Agents have been received by the guaranteeing Powers, and the answers they have received at St. Petersburgh and Constantinople lead them to hope that, even under the gravest eventualities, Roumania may ride out the storm without incurring serious detriment or inconvenience.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 208.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 38. Political. Confidential.)

Bucharest, November 27, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE just returned from a lengthened visit to M. Bratiano.

In the course of conversation, but without mentioning Sir H. Elliot's telegram, I questioned the Minister concerning the rumours prevalent respecting the mission of Sir Stephen Lakeman.

M. Bratiano states that all that he said, and that through a third person, was that, should the Powers and the Porte desire the "police" and occupation of Bulgaria by the Roumanian army, the Government of Prince Charles was ready to make any exertions in the cause of peace; that to resist an aggressive war, he never dreamed of putting the Roumanian forces at the disposal of the Porte.

Sir Stephen Lakeman before leaving this distinctly told me that he had seen and conversed with M. Bratiano, and that the latter's last words had been, "for God's sake, General, do something."

Sir Stephen made his statement to me in the most confidential manner, which debarred me from ascertaining greater details from M. Bratiano at an earlier date.

Your Lordship will observe a discrepancy of facts between M. Bratiano and Sir Stephen, and I feel disposed to entertain every confidence that it is M. Bratiano who, in this instance, is speaking the truth.

M. Bratiano expressed his hopes that Her Majesty's Government is pressing for the most comprehensive measures in Bulgaria as the only possible chance of avoiding war, and much more not worth repeating.

He does not share M. Jonesco's gratification at the assurances received by the Roumanian Agents in various capitals; he regards such assurances as mostly polite expressions, which will avail nothing when an emergency shall arise.

M. Jonesco called upon me yesterday to formally express the gratification of the Roumanian Government at the manner in which Prince John Ghika has been received by your Lordship.

M. Jonesco also sets great store on some assurances which he represents Prince Ghika to have received from the Prime Minister, in likening this country to Belgium in respect of neutrality, &c.

This is a favourite view of Prince Ghika, and I should not be surprised to find that he has exaggerated or misinterpreted the expressions of the Earl of Beaconsfield.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 209.

Consul Sanderson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 6. Political.)

Galatz, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that Prince Charles of Roumania arrived at Galatz on the afternoon of the 23rd instant, coming from Ibraila, where he had inspected the troops. These were said to be 5,000 strong, but Mr. Vice-Consul Brown states that he is of opinion that there are not more than 3,500 men in Ibraila.

At Galatz the troops were to have turned out for exercise on the 24th instant, but, in consequence of the bad weather, this was abandoned; and at one time it was reported that there would not even be an inspection, but at about 2 P.M. they were drawn up along the principal street, and were inspected by the Prince. The force consists of one regiment and a half of cavalry, or about 1,200 men in all; a battery of artillery (six Krupp guns); two old brass guns, worked by the firemen; one regiment of infantry, and three of the Frontier Guard. These regiments, when at full strength, are composed of 2,000 men each, but on this occasion there did not appear to be in all more than 7,000 infantry at the outside. There is an hospital corps attached, with three ambulances and men with stretchers, which seem of good pattern. According to present arrangements, this force will remain at Galatz.

I am informed by the General commanding this division that there is also a regiment at Ismail.

In the course of the afternoon Prince Charles received the Consular body, and he left this morning for Forsani, where there there are two regiments, one of which has been brought down from Jassy; and I understand that he is expected to return to Bucharest on Monday, the 27th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 210.

Colonel Lennox to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

Ragusa, November 25, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your letter of the 2nd instant, appointing me to act as Military Delegate on the part of Great Britain, for arranging the armistice between the armies of Turkey and Montenegro, and desiring me to proceed without loss of time to Vienna, and to await further instructions there, I have the honour to inform you that I left London the next morning, and reached Vienna on the morning of the 5th instant. I was unable to obtain any information with regard to the negotiations for the armistice at Vienna, but I ascertained that the Delegates were to assemble at Ragusa.

I reached Ragusa on the 10th, and found that none of the Delegates were there except the Italian Delegate, M. Durando, who resides at Ragusa.

I did not find any orders awaiting me at Ragusa, and I did not receive the identic instructions for the Delegates which were transmitted with Sir H. Elliot's letter of 6th, till the 17th, and the identic variations, transmitted with Sir H. Elliot's letter of the 10th, till the 21st.

Happily my French colleague received the identic instructions, in a letter dated 3rd November from his Embassy at Constantinople, on the 14th instant, and by telegram of the 10th, the identic variations of that day. We were, therefore, enabled to take some preliminary measures before the arrival, on the 18th, of the last Delegate.

The Commission opened under my Presidency the following day (Sunday, 19th), and held two sittings on the 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, and one sitting yesterday.

The decisions of the Commission will be communicated to the Commanders-in-chief of the armies in Herzegovina and Albania and to the Prince of Montenegro, through the officers delegated by them, at a sitting to be held this afternoon. The Commission will, therefore, have practically concluded its duty in eleven sittings, held in seven days.

Speaking in a general way, the territory claimed by the Montenegrins has been either left in their line of demarcation or formed into neutral ground.

In the name of the Commission I shall telegraph the leading facts to Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, for communication to the chiefs of Mission at 4 P.M. this day, when the written decisions will have been handed to the Delegates of the Commanders-in-chief.

The accompanying tracing shows the several lines. It is from the Austrian staff map of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, and Montenegro of 1870, scale $\frac{1}{300,000}$. It has been very hurriedly made, and very probably some of the names are not spelt properly; but it will be sufficiently clear if placed over the Austrian staff map.

The Commission leave to-morrow (if transport be procurable), in two parties, to mark out the ground, the lines of demarcation and neutral zone, at the two places where the greatest forces are in presence. I proceed with the German and French members to Sputz and Podgoritza; and Colonel Bogoluboff proceeds with the Austrian member to Zaslap. M. Durando will remain at Ragusa, so as to be able to communicate by telegraph with the Commission in the event of necessity.

The Commission will return here as soon as possible, and then complete the record of its proceedings, which will be forwarded to Constantinople.

When I have completed my duties as Commissioner here I will proceed to Constantinople, as directed in your letter of 24th October last, and take up the appointment of Military Attaché there.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM LENNOX, *Colonel, R.E.,*
British Commissioner.

Inclosure in No. 210.

Rough Sketch showing Line of Demarcation between the Turkish Troops and the Montenegrins.

No. 211.

Mr. Corbett to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 111. Confidential.)

Berne, November 27, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Russian Minister at Berne communicated a few days ago by order of his Government to the President, the Circular despatch of Prince Gortchakow, dated Tsarkoe Selo, the $\frac{1st}{13th}$ instant.

Prince Michel Gortchakow read afterwards privately to M. Welti the despatch of the Russian Chancellor to Count Schouvaloff of the $\frac{23rd}{11th}$ instant. He laid great stress upon the pacific language made use of by the Emperor and the solemn assurances made by His Majesty to Lord Augustus Loftus of his not being actuated by ambitious views in regard to the Eastern question.

From the tenor of the language held to me by M. Welti, it is evident that the Russian Minister failed to convince his Excellency that the intentions of the Russian Government towards Turkey were of a friendly character, and he expressed to me the opinion that, however pacific might be the language held by the Emperor, it would be easy for the Russian Government, if they should find it desirable to resort to extreme measures against the Porte, to attempt to justify their proceedings by a reference to the excited state of public opinion in Russia, which prevented the realization of the pacific views and intentions of the Sovereign.

M. Welti added that he had no doubt the Russian Government would be satisfied if they could gain their ends without a war with Turkey, but he felt convinced that they would not shrink from that alternative if they found it impossible to carry out their policy by peaceable means.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

No. 212.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 838. Confidential.)

Vienna, November 27, 1876.

My Lord,

PRINCE WREDE, the Austrian Agent at Belgrade, having eventually decided to take his leave of absence, arrived here on Saturday last. I am told he gives a most deplorable account of the state of things in Servia, where the population during the winter will be dependent for their nourishment on supplies of grain from abroad. He is also of opinion that nothing short of force would induce them again to renew the war.

He represents General Tchernaieff to be so detested by all parties that he could not remain in the country were it not for the support of the Prince, and it is therefore alleged that His Highness is contemplating a *coup d'état*, in carrying out which his assistance may be of use to him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 213.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 842. Very Confidential.)

Vienna, November 29, 1876.

My Lord,

BARON CALICE will, I understand, leave this evening, as Second Plenipotentiary to the Conference at Constantinople.

ROUGH SKETCH

SHEWING LINE OF DEMARCATION BETWEEN THE

TURKISH TROOPS AND THE MONTENEGRINS

FROM THE

AUSTRIAN STAFF PLAN.

Scale 1/300,000.

Copied from a tracing of another tracing from the Austrian Staff Map of "Bosnien, der Herzegovina, von Serbien und Montenegro" of 1876.

I have reason to believe that he has been chosen as a gentleman on whom Count Andrassy can rely to look constantly to himself for guidance, and who will act in strict conformity with his views and orders, though apparently acting under the lead of Count Zichy.

Count Andrassy has been unwilling to deprive the Austrian Ambassador of the first place as Austrian Representative in the Conference; but though Count Zichy professes to have emancipated himself from the influence of General Ignatiew, and to know him thoroughly, his Excellency evidently fears that he may still pay undue deference to General Ignatiew's representations, and he trusts to Baron Calice to prevent his colleague in the Conference departing from the spirit and letter of his instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 214.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 4.*)

(No. 844.)
Vienna, November 29, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, to your Lordship the inclosed despatch, which has been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 214.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Deligrad, November 23, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the satisfaction of reporting that the Commission were able, without difficulty, to establish a neutral zone between the Ottoman and Servian forces on the River Timok. The dislocations were of slight importance and both sides seemed content.

The trace which I have the honour to inclose, applied to the Austrian staff map, will show the neutral zone within the pencil marks. The red line represents the Servian outposts, the blue the Turkish.

The Commission ruled that the Turks were entitled to a complete line of defence round the town Zaitschar, but the outworks or positions thrown forward fall in neutral ground. On these there are earthworks which can be reoccupied when the armistice ends, viz., the night of the 28th December. The Servians were thrown back from Slivar.

As regards the political boundary of the River Timok, the only two posts held, viz., Cokonjar by the Servians and Bregovo by the Turks have been evacuated, the troops falling back 4 kilometres. The instructions given to the Commission are to maintain neutrality over 8 kilometres: this is obviously impossible in a mountain district; fortunately an exception is allowed, and it will be found that latitude must be taken everywhere.

Since the ground was marked, a complaint has been made against the Turks for looting the remnant of the village Grljan. A second complaint is made that the Turks have threatened to force the road between Nichsich and Widdin, at a place near Mirelova, south of Knjazevac. The Servians are here on Turkish territory, and will be left there when the line is marked. On the other hand, the Servians are accused of cutting communication on an important road from Bosnia towards Turkey, between Novi Bazaar and Mitrovitza.*

The journey to Deligrad was safely accomplished after some hardship as regards weather, and the Commission, presided over by Sir A. Kemball, will now settle the boundaries in the Morava Valley. It was ruled this day that my functions end when the General's begin, though I may resume my duty when the General thinks fit to replace me on the Commission.

* Where the railway ends.

The positions of Deligrad and Alexinatz present difficulties, as the outposts nearly touch, and the Russian Delegate seems determined to claim one or other of these important positions for the Servians. I need not mention to your Excellency that though the fortifications of Deligrad are in the hands of the Servians, the key of the position, or the heights between Djunis and the Morava (on the left bank of the river), are in the hands of the Turks. A glance at the map will show the importance of the Djunis heights in an angle between two rivers if the Turks form defensive positions during the armistice.

Zaitschar is being transformed into an entrenched camp, and probably a second will be made in the Morava Valley, and these positions are not fortified against Servians.* It may be expected, therefore, that the Russian Delegate has orders to make a stand; that the majority of votes will be against him no soldier can doubt, but this may not prevent serious consequences.

As a question may hereafter be raised respecting the Turkish method of waging war, I may here state that the villages and towns which fell in the hands of the Turks were utterly destroyed, not in one general conflagration, for each house required burning, and after burning the remnant was laid level. I speak of villages even which offered no resistance.

In many instances the abode of pigs (peculiar to the country) alone stood in relief. Also faithful to their traditions, the Turks showed their enmity to "graven images," and added insult to injury.

I can only describe the Turkish method of treating their fallen foe as barbarous.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. GONNE,

Major, 17th Lancers, Military Attaché.

Inclosure 2 in No. 214.

Tracing showing the Neutral Zone between the Turkish and Servian Forces on the River Timok.

No. 215.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 849.)

My Lord, *Vienna, December* 2, 1876.

I HAVE received a telegram from Mr. Monson with reference to the conditional permission which you have granted him to leave Ragusa, in which he requests me to convey to your Lordship the expression of his thanks for your consideration, and also his assurances that he will not abuse your kindness.

Mr. Monson mentioned at the same time that Prince Nicholas will not leave Montenegro until all the details of the armistice are settled.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 216.

Mr. Strachey to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 52.)

My Lord, *Dresden, November* 30, 1876.

SOME of our newspapers have represented "the Germans" as shrugging their shoulders at Lord Salisbury's mission, and ridiculing its evident futility. If I may venture an opinion, "the Germans" in question are not to be found here, but in editors' rooms in London. Every one puts faith in his Lordship's high political and personal qualifications. Excellent results are hoped from his mission, and the belief prevails that the diplomatic mediocrities in the Conference will be no match for serious statesmanship like his.

Such has been the anxiety to know, or seem to know, any details of his move-

* The object will be to stop a Russian force which may have passed into Turkey across the Danube from Roumania.

MAP

Shewing the Neutral Zone between the Turkish & Servian Forces,
on the
RIVER TIMOK.

ments or views, that the "Dresdner Nachrichten" has pretended that their Special "interviewed" Lord Salisbury at Tetschen, on the frontier (where he may have stopped two minutes), and extracted his real opinions.

The same journal, in its anti-Russian zeal, has interpolated in the Czar's explanation to Lord Augustus Loftus an expression of his belief that if Russia and England are agreed the other Powers must submit to their decision! It has escaped notice here that the alleged language is borrowed *verbatim* from the conversations of the Emperor Nicholas with Sir H. Seymour.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. STRACHEY.

No. 217.

Mr. Strachey to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 53.)
My Lord, *Dresden, November* 30, 1876.

DR. MINCKWITZ has reported from Berlin that the feeling prevails in the Reichstag that Germany must by no means suffer a Russian occupation of the mouths of the Danube, Constantinople, or the Dardanelles; for any such aggrandizement would lead to the destruction of the German Empire.

A repetition of the Prussian policy of 1853-54 is out of the question while Bismarck is at the head of affairs.

Should the said eventualities of Russian conquest actually approach, both Government and Reichstag would unanimously decide to act with England and Austria, so as to place limits, once for all, on Russia's aggressive power.

However, for the present, Germany was not to "pluck other people's chestnuts out of the fire."

Herr von Nostitz tells me that he thinks this view is not inaccurate. In his Excellency's opinion there are "not ten men" in Germany who desire a Russian alliance, or who think that Russia ought to be allowed to remove her European landmarks.

The Russian proclivities ascribed to Prince Bismarck have no existence in fact; Gambetta's recent estimate of the Prince's tendencies was sufficiently accurate. Bismarck's ideas and precautions gravitate round Paris, not round Constantinople or Vienna. His anxiety is lest Germany should hereafter fall between the French hammer and the Russian anvil; this fear ties his hands, and will keep him neutral until Russia commits and perpetuates some flagrant aggression.

It is hardly necessary to say that the relationship between the reigning families has further a greater influence in determining Germany's negative attitude.

The Emperor of Russia is personally anxious to avoid war, but is evidently unable to resist the pressure to which he is exposed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. STRACHEY.

No. 218.

Mr. Strachey to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 54.)
My Lord, *Dresden, November* 30, 1876.

PROFESSOR SPRINGER, the historian and art-critic, writing in the Leipzig National Liberal "Im neuen Reich," warns European diplomatists that if the "melancholy comedy" of the Conference is given, they will encounter two Russian cant phrases—"Balkan-Slavs" and "Bulgaria." They must observe that there are "Bulgarians" in Bessarabia, Moldavia, Asia Minor, Greece, and even in the Austrian Banat. The Bulgarian speech-frontier reaches to Saloniki and Adrianople; Bulgarians are found all over Thrace and Macedonia, from the Danube to the Ægean. The great Schafarik says that the Bulgarian linguistic territory is inhabited by a multitude of various races, all mixed up with Bulgarians, who only exist as a pure, separate stock in a few little-known, mountainous districts.

Professor Springer, who is a German-Bohemian, is an authority of repute. Should Jiricek's "Geschichte der Bulgaren," published at Prague in 1876, not be at

hand, I would venture to recommend it for present use. This work of a profound and thoroughly impartial Czech scholar brings Bulgarian history down to the recent creation of the Exarchate, and the subsequent revolutionary and educational movements, and includes statistics for schools, literature, &c., for 1875. An appendix, "Habitation and Numbers of the Bulgarians," seems invaluable; some of the figures are for 1875. It is a satisfaction to see that Gibbon's doctrine, of which Jiricek is unaware, of the descent of the Bulgarians from the old Slavonic inhabitants of the Danubian peninsula, is completely re-established by the concurrence of Slav and German learning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. STRACHEY.

No. 219.

Major-General Walker to Lord Odo Russell.—(Received at the Foreign Office, December 4.)

(No. 85.)
My Lord, *Berlin, November 30, 1876.*

COMING up from the country yesterday, I met, at a small railway station, a gentleman from Seesen, who informed me that he was a cloth manufacturer, established near that place, and that, so large had been late purchases by the Russian Government of blankets for the army from German manufacturers, that the price of wool had gone up 16 per cent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BEAUCHAMP WALKER,
Major-General, Military Attaché.

No. 220.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 372.)
My Lord, *Rome, December 1, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Marquis of Salisbury arrived in Rome the day before yesterday at half-past 4 in the afternoon, and left for Brindisi by special train at 8 this morning.

His Lordship had an interview with M. Melegari yesterday morning, and was received in the afternoon by His Majesty the King and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Piedmont.

Before the interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I informed his Lordship that I believed the principles of Italian policy to be:—

1. The maintenance of the territorial integrity of Turkey.

2. Liberal measures of reform for the insurgent Provinces under an international guarantee or engagement, which would give the Powers the right of seeing to their application. This as an act of justice to the population, and as a satisfaction to Russia.

3. Neutrality in the event of war, but diplomatic opposition to military occupation of the Provinces by any foreign Powers whatever.

After the interview with M. Melegari, Lord Salisbury told me that his Excellency's language had been in conformity with these principles, and he therefore looked for the support of the Italian Minister during the Conference.

M. Melegari, who dined here last night, informed me that he had been much gratified by Lord Salisbury's language, and that there had been a perfect understanding between them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 221.

Sir C. Wyke to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 117.)
My Lord, *Copenhagen, December 1, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a paragraph contained in the "Pall Mall Gazette" of the 24th ultimo, which has been brought to my notice, and I need hardly state that there is no foundation whatever for the statement therein contained of my having protested against the establishment of a depôt for the Russian Imperial navy in the vicinity of Copenhagen, as no such project has ever been heard of by this Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES LENNOX WYKE.

Inclosure in No. 221.

Extract from the "Pall Mall Gazette" of November 24, 1876.

RUSSIAN ARMAMENTS.—Our Copenhagen correspondent, writing on the 21st, says:—

"As a proof of the extent to which the Russian Government is preparing for all emergencies, I can inform you that one of the largest wholesale houses in the clothing and outfitting line here in Copenhagen received a couple of days ago an order for several thousand Russian uniforms, to be delivered within a short time. The report which I telegraphed to you some time ago of the intention of the Russian Government to establish a depôt for the Imperial navy in the vicinity of Copenhagen is now said to be founded on fact. The Danish Government having, however, informed the English Government of the *pourparlers* entered into with the Russian Government, Sir Charles Lennox Wyke, K.C.B., the British Minister at this Court, at once entered a strong protest, and even intimated the necessity under which Her Majesty's Government might feel of taking stronger measures to prevent such an attempt at encroachment."

The "Allgemeine Zeitung" states that the Russian Government has just concluded a contract with a large German firm at Halberstadt for the supply of 140,000 tons of lead, to be delivered at the towns and ports arranged within six weeks.

No. 222.

Sir C. Wyke to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 4.)

(No. 118. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Copenhagen, December 1, 1876.*

IN a private conversation which I had yesterday with M. Vedel at the Foreign Office here he informed me that from despatches he had seen from Berlin and St. Petersburgh it became evident that the German Government, in case of a war breaking out between Russia and Turkey, was prepared, in case of necessity, to afford material aid to the former against the latter Power.

He was also of opinion that pressure had been brought to bear by the Cabinet of Berlin upon that of Vienna to prevent the latter from opposing the occupation of Bulgaria by Russian troops should the Emperor Alexander insist upon adopting such a measure for obtaining a material guarantee for the protection of the Christian population in that Province.

It is stated here that a German *corps d'armée* of observation is about being stationed along the line of the Baltic coast, in the event, it is supposed, of our sending a fleet into these waters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES LENNOX WYKE.

No. 223.

Mr. Lumley to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 121. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Brussels, December* 3, 1876.

THE remarkable moderation which the Turkish Government has shown in refraining from taking any official or public notice of the assistance rendered by Russian volunteers to the insurgents in Servia appears to have been misrepresented by the Russian press as implying a kind of sanction on the part of the Porte of the acts of the Slav Committees at St. Petersburgh and Moscow.

Carathéodory Effendi, having called the attention of his Government to an article of the "Nord" in this sense, received a despatch from his Government in reply, which he has been good enough to communicate to me confidentially.

In this despatch Safvet Pasha states that, if the Porte had not taken notice officially of that occurrence, it was partly out of consideration for the difficulty in which the Russian Government, from its own avowal, found itself placed with regard to the Slave Committees, and partly in order to spare the susceptibilities of the Russian Government; but that it had hoped the Russian Government would have taken measures to put an end to a state of things so contrary to the elementary principles of international law and to the friendly relations subsisting between the two countries.

Safvet Pasha adds that, as far as he is able to learn, the number of Russian officers thus employed in Servia amounted to 600, with not less than 30,000 soldiers, and that, had this state of things continued for three months longer, Russia would have had in Servia a force of 80,000 men fully equipped and disciplined and provided with everything that was required for an army in the field. On my calling the attention of the Turkish Minister to a telegram from the "Times" correspondent at Berlin, stating that the passage of Russian officers and troops into Servia was still going on, Carathéodory Effendi said it was probable his Government would be compelled to call the attention of the Powers to this flagrant breach of the right of nations at the approaching Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

Inclosure in No. 223.

Safvet Pasha to Carathéodory Effendi.

Sublime Porte, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, le 2 *Novembre*, 1876.

M. l'Envoyé,

J'AI reçu le rapport que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser le 3 Octobre ayant pour annexe un article du "Nord" sur la politique de la Russie. Dans cet article l'organe de la Russie en faisant observer que la Sublime Porte n'a élevé aucune réclamation au sujet du passage de volontaires Russes en Serbie, semble interpréter ce silence comme impliquant de la part du Gouvernement du Sultan un acte de sanction des faits et gestes des comités Slaves de St. Pétersbourg et de Moscow. Cette abstention de la Sublime Porte tient cependant à des causes qu'il importe de faire connaître. Eu égard à la situation difficile dans laquelle le Gouvernement Impérial de Russie, de son propre aveu, se trouvait lui-même placé vis-à-vis des dits comités, situation que ses journaux ont largement contribué à lui créer par la violence de leur langage contre les Turcs et par leurs assertions calomnieuses et mensongères, la Sublime Porte a cru devoir ménager ses susceptibilités en se bornant à faire observer de temps à autre au Cabinet Russe la violation manifeste du principe de la non-intervention proclamé par le Prince Gortchakow, lui-même, aussi que de celui de la neutralité. Nous espérons que le Gouvernement Impérial de Russie voyant cet état de choses contraire aux principes élémentaires des droits internationaux et surtout aux relations amicales existant entre les deux Empires, finirait par prendre les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher ou au moins pour faire aboutir l'envoi des renforts en hommes pour la Serbie. Je ne puis, M. l'Envoyé, vous indiquer d'une manière rigoureusement exacte le chiffre des officiers et des soldats Russes qui se trouvent en ce moment en Serbie; je pourrais pourtant vous assurer que le nombre des officiers pourrait monter à 600 et

celui des soldats à 30,000, et si cet état de choses continue encore pendant trois mois, nous nous trouverons en face d'une armée Russe de 80,000 hommes bien disciplinée et pourvue de tout ce qui est nécessaire à une armée en campagne.

C'est pour les raisons mentionnées plus haut, que la Sublime Porte s'est abstenu jusqu'à présent de faire des démarches officielles à ce sujet auprès de qui de droit.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

No. 224.

Mr. Lumley to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 122.)
My Lord, *Brussels, December* 3, 1876.

THE Turkish Minister has been good enough to lend me a remarkable pamphlet, called "Attention aux Balkans," written by a Greek, M. Kyriacopulo, the editor of the "Phare de Bosphore," and which is interesting, as giving an exposition from the point of view entertained by the Christian subjects of the Porte, of the policy which Russia has followed for many years past, with the view of obtaining the control of the population, which is, so to say, "astride of the Balkan range."

The pamphlet opens with a brief sketch of the abortive efforts of the Russians to obtain possession of the Balkans by force; and then proceeds to trace the history of their efforts to take possession of the Balkans by intrigue.

Having failed to inculcate Panslavist ideas among the Bulgarians who, when once educated, preferred becoming Greeks, Russia endeavoured to obtain her end by grouping her protégés around an ecclesiastical centre, and inspiring them with hatred of the Greeks. M. Kyriacopulo describes the persistent efforts of Russia since 1840 to procure the establishment of a Bulgarian Church, independent of the Greek Patriarchate, and explains at length how General Ignatiew succeeded in this object. The Porte having been led to believe that this division would weaken the Greek Church and Russian influence, issued a Firman, authorizing the election of a Bulgarian Exarch; and ordained that the jurisdiction of this prelate should extend over the area of Bulgaria proper, and over all localities inhabited by a mixed population, the majority of whom were Bulgarians; thus creating a Bulgaria which should include the southern slopes of the Balkans.

Russia then endeavoured to obtain the recognition of the new Bulgarian Exarchate by the supreme head of the Orthodox Church; this would have confirmed the delimitation of Bulgaria on the basis laid down by the Firman, since the Greek Patriarch could not recognize the new Church without defining its territorial limits; and the Porte would have been under the necessity of sanctioning by a more explicit Firman the limits of Bulgaria.

The Greek Patriarchate, however, alarmed at the prospect of the establishment of a Slav Church, which would have absorbed the Greek communities in the Mixed Provinces, proclaimed the Bulgarian Church schismatic, and in place of the territorial limits which Russia aimed at obtaining, they were left in an undefined state. The writer then refers to the overtures made by Russia to the Greek Government, for settling the questions of disputed territory that might arise between Greeks and Bulgarians in the event of a successful Bulgarian revolt, according to which she proposed to renounce the Bulgarian claims on the Provinces south of the Balkans to the extent of four-fifths of Macedonia, the condition that the northern fifth and that strip of Thrace which lies between Philippopoli and the Balkans, almost in a direct line to the Black Sea, should be recognized as part of Bulgaria.

This intrigue fell through, thanks to the energetic attitude of Midhat Pasha, and the Bulgarian insurrection had to break out with the limits of Bulgaria still undefined.

The writer, in conclusion, warns the Liberal Party in England that by pressing for the grant of autonomy to Bulgaria, they will merely enable Russia to win the game she has played so long, and sums up as follows his ideas of the means of surmounting the present crisis, and of counteracting at the same time the projects of Russia:—

1. No privileged position should be granted to Bulgaria exclusively, but liberal institutions ought to be bestowed on all the Eastern communities alike.

2. In the event of its being impossible to prevent the establishment of a special

system in Bulgaria, or consequently to obviate a delimitation of that Province, no right of the Bulgarians to any territory beyond the Balkans ought to be recognized, nor any other southern border to Bulgaria but that mountain barrier.

3. The other peoples of Turkey, both in Europe and Asia, ought to be granted the same privileges as those enjoyed by the Bulgarians so as to insure free competition.

I was not aware when I began this despatch that the pamphlet lent me by the Turkish Minister had already been translated, and that a *résumé* of it appeared in the "Standard" of the 16th ultimo, and as I cannot but conclude that your Lordship must be in possession of the original, I refrain from forwarding with this despatch the copy I have had made of that interesting paper.

The subject has likewise been alluded to in an article in the "Pall Mall Gazette" of the 18th November, in which the writer, referring to a speech of General Ignatiew's published in the papers of that date, says:—"Lastly, we come to the suggestion with regard to the definition of the limits of Bulgaria, a suggestion which is in itself a masterpiece of innocent diplomacy. 'You know,' says General Ignatiew, pathetically, 'the cavilling on the Turkish and English side against Bulgaria, as a name, a mere geographical conception; well,' he continues, with the modest pride of an inventor, 'I have discovered, and already recommended to my colleagues, a means of escaping their cavils.' And this is the expedient, in all its trusting simplicity: 'We leave the limitation of the new autonomous district to the Turks themselves; for they must now know best where they are compromised by misrule, where they have burned villages, massacred the inhabitants, and outraged the women.'

"What could be fairer? Let the Turk define the limits of Bulgaria himself, subject only to this condition, that 'wherever any massacre took place in Bulgaria, there must autonomy be introduced.'

"In other words, define the limits of Bulgaria how you please, only you must take in the district of Philippopolis, and create a Bulgaria south of the Balkans.

"Few and simple as these words appear, they are words which the diplomacy of Russia has been for more than forty years awaiting the opportunity to pronounce. And we see how singularly chance has favoured her, if nothing but chance has been at work. A massacre is a terrible thing; but if it must happen, how fortunate for Russia that it should occur on the right side of their mountain range, which is so powerful a defence to Turkey, on the very spot upon which Russia has for so many years past been attempting to gain a footing for her influence!

"For the massacre having happened there autonomy must be declared there, and autonomy means possibly occupation, certainly a new outpost for Russia within the line of Turkey's strongest defence.

"General Ignatiew has indeed devised a notable expedient for settling geographical cavils."

Sir H. Barron tells me that when he was Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople in 1869-70 he reported to the Foreign Office the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, and described this measure as one of doubtful justice and expediency as regards Turkish interests, forebodings which have been strikingly borne out by the present Bulgarian question, the result of that among other causes.

I hear from M. Carathéodory that the question of the delimitation of the boundaries of Bulgaria raised by Russia has created the greatest excitement, not only in Thrace and Macedonia, but among the Greeks of the Morea and elsewhere, and the Turkish papers, he says, contain daily protests against the design of placing under Sclavonian authority large districts inhabited almost entirely by Greeks.

The necessity for introducing into the administration of the Christian provinces large and sweeping reforms is universally acknowledged and loudly proclaimed in the Turkish press, some members of which criticize the character of the late Sultans and the policy of their Governments with a boldness and freedom never before known in Turkey.

If only the Turkish Government meets with support in its earnest endeavours, and a favourable impulse is given by England to the large and beneficial reforms which the Porte is desirous of extending to all her Christian and other non-Mussulman subjects, those measures would likewise meet with the unanimous support of all the Greek populations, thus strengthening the Turkish Empire, and at the same time defeating the inordious policy and the narrow views of Russia, who would confine the desired reforms to the Slavs.

What seems to be peculiarly unjust is the determination on the part of that Government that Turkey shall not even have the opportunity of showing what her intentions are and her means of executing them. Turkey, it is said, has for the last

twenty years failed to execute the engagements taken by her towards the Powers, but it must not be forgotten that many peculiar difficulties attending those engagements have only lately been removed. It is only since the present Sultan has thrown down the barriers which separated the Sovereign from his Ministers and his people, and has substituted freedom of advice and the initiative of his Ministers for autocratic and irresponsible authority, that the possibility has existed of carrying out such a policy in accordance with European views.

The object of Russia is to deprive Turkey of the credit of instituting those reforms which would render abortive the attempts of Russia to substitute her authority for that of the Porte in the Danubian provinces, which, if successful, would reduce Turkey to the condition of a vassal of the Russian Empire. But for Russia, there would have been no insurrection in Bosnia or Herzegovina and no outbreaks in Bulgaria, with its consequent atrocities instigated by the Russian Slav societies and the equally atrocious reprisals which have alienated all Europe from Turkey; but for Russia, there would have been no war in Servia, and that war would have been at an end long ago, but for the underhand assistance rendered to the Servians by Russia. It is to her that Servia justly ascribes her present ruin and misery, and equal desolation is menaced for the other European provinces of Turkey, unless she submits to the humiliation of permitting those provinces to be occupied by foreign troops, the only troops disposable for that purpose being those who are admitted by the Russian Government itself to be under the influence of the secret societies who instigated the original massacres in Bulgaria.

No doubt, said M. Carathéodory, Turkey is prepared to defend herself; she knows Russia and does not fear her, and rather than submit to humiliation, she will fight with the energy and desperation of a nation whose existence is at stake; but how would such a contest end, and who can tell what will be the result of all the misery and bloodshed it will occasion?

It is, therefore, with the utmost anxiety that we look to the part England will take at the Conference.

The British Government is accused most falsely of supporting the Turks against the Christians by those who fail to perceive the difference between defending the Turks and upholding the Turkish Empire as a necessary member of the comity of European Powers; but England has now the opportunity of proving that she has the real interests of the Christian population of Turkey at heart, by supporting those enlarged views of reform which the Sultan is desirous of instituting without loss of time, but which will be inevitably deferred, should a contest break out between Russia and Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

No. 225.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 4.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 3 Décembre*, 1876.

LES journaux de l'Europe ont donné la nouvelle d'un dissentiment qui serait survenu entre leurs Altesses le Grand Vézir et le Président du Conseil d'Etat au sujet des réformes. Vous pouvez démentir cette nouvelle, qui n'a aucun fondement: L'élaboration des réformes a touché à sa fin, et la plus complète entente à cet égard n'a cessé d'exister entre les membres du Cabinet Impérial.

No. 226.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 731. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 4*, 1876.

THE German Ambassador, in the course of conversation this afternoon, addressed to me some observations on the Turkish question, which, although he professed to be speaking without instructions, were of such importance as to make me think it desirable to place them on record.

Count Münster dwelt upon the improbability of a rupture being now avoided

between Russia and Turkey. He pointed out the difficulty which the Russian Government would experience in withdrawing from the position they had taken up, in face of the excitement which now prevailed throughout the Empire, and after going to the expense of mobilizing a considerable portion of the Russian Army.

His Excellency went on to speak of the course to be pursued by England in the contingency of a war between Turkey and Russia, deprecated the idea of any immediate action by England in opposition to the latter Power until British interests were really threatened or endangered, and advocated with some earnestness the expediency of our occupying or taking possession of Egypt under such circumstances. He pointed out that so opportune a moment for a step of this nature might never occur again, and that if it were attempted two or three years hence it would meet with opposition from the French Government which the latter were not now in a position to offer.

Without stating explicitly that this advice originated in any way with Prince Bismarck, Count Münster gave me to understand that he was in constant communication with the German Chancellor, and was well acquainted with his views.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 227.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 565.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 4, 1876.*

THE Italian Ambassador, in a conversation this afternoon, expressed to me the satisfaction which had been felt by his Government at the visit of Lord Salisbury to Rome. His Excellency said that he hoped, after the explanation which had been given to Lord Salisbury, that no further doubt would be entertained by Her Majesty's Government as to the pacific dispositions of Italy.

General Menabrea added that considerable uneasiness had been caused to his Government by intimations which they had received that, in the event of a Russian occupation of Bulgaria, Austria would imitate the example so set, and would, on her part, proceed to occupy Bosnia. His Excellency thought that this double occupation would have far more serious consequences than if the occupation of Bulgaria alone were in question. If, he said, a Russian force entered Bulgaria, it would do so for a definite object, and the termination of such a Russian occupation would probably not be a remote event. If, on the other hand, an Austrian force occupied Bosnia, there was no such probability that it would be withdrawn, and in that case the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire would have begun.

I said, in reply, that all the information I had received as to the intentions of the Austrian Government led me to think that they were by no means favourably disposed towards the idea of a Russian occupation of Bulgaria. I hoped, therefore, that the report of an intended occupation of Bosnia by Austria might prove unfounded.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 228.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.[a]*—(Received December 4, night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 4, 1876, 7 P.M.*

PUBLICATION of Constitution has been delayed by disagreement in the Ministry about some Articles, but progress is being made.

General Ignatiew to-day told Minister for Foreign Affairs that the proposed publication would be an affront and defiance to the European Powers.

Europe means to propose certain measures for particular provinces, and would not take into account any proposals of the Porte referring to the general administration of the Empire, and which were brought forward only for the purpose of defeating the object of the Conference.

Minister for Foreign Affairs answered that the Constitution was being framed

[a] Repeated to Embassies.

without reference to the Conference, and had been taken in hand before there was a question of it.

The country had suffered so much under the system followed during the late reign that it was necessary to provide securities against the repetition of the abuses.

He reminded the Ambassador that he had asked him without success what his Government proposed to demand for the insurgent provinces.

He hoped that the Constitution would be found to confer the securities expected for the populations, but he could not admit an intended Conference for bringing about a pacification to be a reason for withholding what is necessary for the proper administration of the whole Empire.

No. 229.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

(No. 5.)
My Lord, *Rome, November 29, 1876.*

I ARRIVED at Vienna on the evening of the 24th instant, and saw Count Andrassy on the following day for several hours, and again on the morning of the 26th.

His Excellency spoke to me at considerable length on the position of the Eastern question, and examined the various plans which have been suggested for its settlement. I was gratified to find that his views were, in many respects, identical with those entertained by Her Majesty's Government. He appeared to be strongly averse to the formation by the Conference of any new tributary States, as he believed that such an arrangement would not, under existing circumstances, secure either political stability or the good government of the populations.

His Excellency was also much opposed to the idea of a Russian occupation, and expressed a hope that England would not sanction it.

I assured him that in these respects Her Majesty's Government entirely shared the opinions of the Austrian Government. At the same time, I observed that the inability of the Turks to fulfil the promises which they had made on various occasions, and the grievous sufferings which, in consequence, had befallen the Christian populations, had imposed upon Europe the duty of making every exertion to secure not only the enactment of any further reforms that might be necessary, but also guarantees for the efficacious execution of those which had already been sanctioned.

In this view Count Andrassy very cordially concurred, and, indeed, earnestly reiterated it more than once before the termination of the interviews.

I then explained to his Excellency the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government with respect to the appointment of Governors, Judges, and other executive officers in the Turkish Provinces, and the securities with which it is proposed to surround the appointment and tenure of office of those authorities.

He concurred generally in the tenor of those opinions, without pledging himself to details. At the same time he strongly urged the necessity of fiscal reforms, and especially dwelt upon the misery caused to the peasantry by the illegal maintenance of the tax-farming system. I assured his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were keenly alive to the evils caused by this system, and would offer their most cordial assistance in procuring its effectual abolition.

The question of disarming the Mussulmans was discussed, but I agreed with his Excellency that it would be difficult to discover any practical and permanent machinery for carrying into effect what was in itself a salutary measure.

Count Andrassy readily promised that Austria would co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in their endeavours to maintain peace, but it was evident that he looked upon the present state of affairs with no little anxiety.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 230.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Rome, November 29, 1876.*

THE Emperor of Austria did me the honour to grant me an audience on the 25th instant, at which I expressed to His Majesty the strong hope entertained by the Queen and Her Majesty's Government that events might permit England and Austria to act

together in the Conference at Constantinople. His Imperial Majesty was pleased to reciprocate this hope, and to give his opinion that the interests of the two countries in regard to the present phase of the Eastern question were identical.

His Majesty discussed the position of affairs in the revolted Provinces of Turkey, and entered into an examination of the various proposals that have been made with regard to them, but he seemed to fear that the difficulties of arriving at a settlement which would be acceptable to all the Powers were almost insuperable.

I assured His Majesty that it was the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that peace might be maintained, and I stated my belief that it would only be seriously menaced if an occupation of Turkish territory were insisted upon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 231.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

(No. 7.)
My Lord, *Rome, November 30, 1876.*

I HAD an interview this morning with Signor Melegari, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and discussed with him the present grave state of affairs in the East.

His Excellency began by emphatically expressing the opinion that the conscience of Christendom would not be satisfied unless effective guarantees were provided for the better government of the Christian populations of Turkey.

At the same time he stated that the Italian Government was strongly opposed to any military occupation of any portion of the Turkish Empire. He did not think, he said, that an Austrian occupation of Bosnia would be compatible with the interests of Italy, and he felt that a Russian occupation of Bulgaria would probably make it inevitable. He was, therefore, very decidedly opposed to occupation by any of the guaranteeing Powers.

His Excellency went on to express the opinion, upon which he insisted with much force, that the action of the Powers ought not to be derived from or limited by the Treaty of Paris, but that their functions were rather those of mediators, deriving their title simply from the events of the war and the acceptance of the Conference by the Porte. They ought, he considered, to be unrestricted in their search for a solution of the questions to be submitted to the Conference by any obligations imposed by that Treaty, and he was not prepared to admit that the Porte would be at liberty to reject any decision to which the Conference might come.

His Excellency expressed himself adversely to the project of providing a port for Montenegro upon the Adriatic, as he doubted whether she would have the power to prevent its being employed for purposes other than those to which the Powers would wish to confine it.

Signor Melegari expressed, throughout the conversation, the most earnest desire to cooperate with England at the Conference.

I said that Her Majesty's Government would hear, with sincere gratification, of the friendly feelings of the Italian Government; and I added that, in insisting upon the necessity of providing effective guarantees for a reform in the government of the revolted Provinces, and in strenuously objecting to a Russian occupation of any part of the Ottoman Empire, the Italian Government were entirely in accord with the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 232.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5.)

(No. 536.)
My Lord, *Berlin, December 3, 1876.*

AT a Parliamentary dinner given on Friday by the Chancellor, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and all the leading Members of Reichstag were present, Prince Bismarck took occasion, it is said, spontaneously to refer to the Eastern question.

His Highness, after renewing the assurances already given as to the absolute neutrality which would be observed by Germany in the event of war breaking out on

the Continent, laid special stress upon the importance he attached to the relations with Austria.

Alluding to that passage of the Emperor's speech on opening the Reichstag which referred to foreign affairs, Prince Bismarck expressed his astonishment that the distinct allusion to England intended by the words "historical friendship," had been completely overlooked and misinterpreted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 233.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 5, 2·10 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 5, 1876, 12·30 P.M.*

LORD SALISBURY arrived at 9 this morning after a good passage.

No. 234.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic) *Foreign Office, December 5, 1876, 3·15 P.M.*

INSTRUCT Consul Moore to come to Constantinople to act as Interpreter to Lord Salisbury.

No. 235.

Mr. Currie to Lord Tenterden.—(Received December 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 5, 1876.*

WE arrived this morning at 9 o'clock.

No. 237.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 6.)

(No. 2.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, November 22, 1876.*

THE reserves of this and the adjacent districts have been called out; they have been sent to the garrison. The road between Kutais and Ozurget has been repaired. An English firm has received orders to supply 260,000 iron beds by the 15th January. A publication has been made that merchandize will be only carried by the railways at the risk of the merchant.

It is reported that the frontier force is to be augmented by 20,000 men. This force is, it is said, to come from Odessa, and will pass to the frontier. I cannot vouch for the truth of this report, but will inform your Lordship if I hear of any such movement.

The reports in respect to the number of Russian army on the frontier being contradictory, I have authorized an Englishman named Captain Lyall, who has been residing and trading in the (country ?) to reconnoitre the frontier: he will proceed slowly so as not to excite suspicion, his ostensible object being the (transport ?) of goods.

I have guaranteed him 1*l.* sterling a-day expenses, and 1*l.* sterling for himself. I think that he should receive something more. I hope this measure will be approved of. He went yesterday.

I hear to-day there are on the frontier between 30,000 and 40,000 infantry, 18 batteries, and 5,000 Cossacks. The infantry have been through bad weather compelled to leave the camp at Alexandropol, and are quartered in the adjacent villages. The Cossacks are distributed along the frontier in small detachments.

There are but few troops (chiefly militia) at Osurget; the mass is at Alexandropol; 8,000 are supposed to be at Aclualzikh. Several cartloads of powder have been lately sent to Alexandropol, and to-day 500 sappers left this for Alexandropol.

Whether it is intended to take the offensive or to remain on the defensive it is difficult to say; much will depend on the preparations made by the Turks at Kars and at Erzeroum. Should Russians receive reinforcements, and war being declared take offensive, they will, I imagine, either besiege Kars, or observing Kars, advance on Erzeroum.

The people of Daghistan are, it is said, ready to assist the Turks in the event of these latter being successful.

I do not send despatches to Constantinople; communicating with the Embassy at present would create suspicion. This will be sent in duplicate. A despatch in cypher was sent to London on the 8th of this month.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. RICKETTS.

No. 237[e].

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 6.)

(No. 3.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, November 23, 1876.*

I HEAR that 40,000 men are expected shortly to arrive at Tiflis from Russia; they will come in detachments of 2,000 a-day.

It would seem that Russia means assuming offensive operations on this frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. RICKETTS.

No. 238.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 6.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Sublime Porte, le 22 Novembre, 1876.*

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-joint, pour votre information, copie d'un Rapport que je viens de recevoir de notre Ministre à Athènes.

Ainsi qu'il résulte de cette pièce, le Gouvernement Hellénique a adressé aux Grandes Puissances un Mémorandum pour prévenir l'Europe que, si les Grecs de Turquie sont laissés en dehors des améliorations réclamées en faveur des Slavs, la Grèce se verrait dans la nécessité de suivre l'exemple de la Serbie, et de prendre une part active au soulèvement éventuel de ses populations.

Votre Excellence doit avoir remarqué par la nature des interpellations qui se croisent journellement dans la Chambre des Députés d'Athènes, par les discours et les déclarations des Ministres Helléniques, par les meetings qui se tiennent dans les principales villes du Royaume, que de haut en bas tout le pays s'agite à la pensée que l'Europe pourrait persister jusqu'au bout dans son indifférence à l'endroit des Grecs de l'Empire Ottoman.

Le Gouvernement Hellénique avait suivi jusqu'ici, c'est-à-dire depuis le commencement de l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine, une ligne de conduite correcte et irréprochable vis-à-vis de la Sublime Porte; il était resté comme un spectateur paisible des événements qui se passaient dans le monde Slav, et nous donnait les assurances les plus formelles qu'il ne se départirait pas de la ligne politique qu'il s'était tracé, et qu'il persévérerait dans son système de neutralité absolue, et prétendait avoir abdiqué à sa grande idée qu'il appelait être chimérique. Dès lors, comment concilier ce changement brusque et inattendue de son attitude et ce revirement de sa politique de paix et de conservation avec sa conduite passée et ses assurances réitérées? Votre Excellence sait que le Cabinet d'Athènes procède maintenant à l'armement général du pays pour se tenir prêt à toute éventualité, et aspire à jouer le rôle de la Russie, tout en ne possédant pas les mêmes moyens, et n'ayant aucun motif même spécieux pour vouloir se mêler dans les affaires concernant les sujets Grecs de l'Empire.

Nous ne pouvons pas nous expliquer ce brusque changement d'attitude de la Grèce que par l'espérance que le Roi Georges pourrait avoir reçue de la part de quelques Cabinets dans son long voyage en Europe, ou par l'intention de s'attirer la sympathie et la reconnaissance des populations Grecques de l'Empire, en voulant faire attribuer à ses démonstrations armées l'application à celles-ci des avantages que le Gouvernement Impérial se verrait, par la pression étrangère, obligé d'accorder aux Slavs, tandis que le Gouvernement Hellénique connaît parfaitement bien que nous sommes fermement décidés à ne rien accorder d'exclusif aux Provinces Slavs sans qu'il ne soit appliqué en même temps aux autres provinces de l'Empire; ainsi nous ne pouvons dans cet ordre d'idées attribuer l'armement de la Grèce qu'au retour de l'ancienne idée d'agrandissement que la probabilité d'un conflit général aurait donné l'espérance de voir réalisée.

Cependant, un simple coup d'œil sur l'attitude du Gouvernement Impérial suffirait pour convaincre les plus incrédules que rien ne saurait être plus contraire aux vues du Gouvernement Impérial qu'une partialité injuste en faveur d'un élément quelconque de la population de l'Europe.

Le Gouvernement Impérial connaît bien l'effervescence et les réclamations que ne manqueraient pas de provoquer les mesures particlles et locales, et c'est en vue précisément de rassurer sur ce point toutes les populations de l'Empire qu'il a opposé, et qu'il oppose aux propositions de privilèges exclusifs et locaux qui lui ont été faites, des réformes générales destinées à satisfaire les vœux de tous ses sujets sans distinction de race ou de religion.

Il ne s'est pas fait faute de déclarer que tout régime d'exception serait à la fois un danger pour lui-même et une injustice pour ses populations; et votre Excellence ne doit pas manquer de faire valoir l'agitation qui se manifeste en Grèce ou du moins les arguments qu'on y met en avant pour passionner les populations, comme la preuve la plus convaincante du bienfondé des appréhensions et des objections que la Sublime Porte oppose au projet des autonomies et des réformes d'exception. Sous ce rapport l'agitation du Royaume Hellénique a son bon côté; elle milite en faveur des idées du Gouvernement Ottoman, et elle jette sur la situation une vive lumière.

Si les Hellènes sont sincères, si réellement leur but n'est autre que de prémunir l'Europe contre la grande injustice qui s'accomplirait le jour où la Turquie ferait à ses sujets Slavs une situation privilégiée, ils peuvent être complètement rassurés à cet égard; le Gouvernement Impérial n'a pas manqué dès le principe de reconnaître la légitimité de ce sentiment, et ses efforts ne tendent qu'à empêcher qu'il ne soit contesté ni méconnue. Les Puissances, témoins de ces efforts, sauront, nous en sommes convaincus, confirmer le Gouvernement et les populations du Royaume Hellénique dans l'idée qu'ils auraient dû se faire des vraies intentions de la Sublime Porte, intentions que les actes successifs du Gouvernement Impérial ne tarderont pas à confirmer tous les jours davantage.

Si donc, je le répète, les Hellènes sont sincères lorsqu'ils disent que leur agitation n'a d'autre but que d'empêcher que les droits des Provinces où domine l'élément Grec ne soient méconnus, il n'y aurait plus qu'à se demander quels seraient les moyens d'empêcher que cette agitation ne prenne à la longue un caractère différent que celui qu'on veut lui attribuer.

Je ne veux m'arrêter un instant à l'hypothèse que je mentionnais simplement plus haut, et d'après laquelle on voudrait rattacher le mouvement actuel à des encouragements que le Roi Georges aurait reçus pendant son voyage.

Si de pareils encouragements ont été donnés à Sa Majesté, elle a certainement trop de perspicacité pour ne pas avoir senti tout d'abord qu'ils ne tendaient qu'à l'égarer elle aussi sur ses vrais intérêts. Mais ce qui me paraît à craindre, c'est que des hommes mal-intentionnés ne s'emparent du mouvement et ne le détournent de son but primitif. Les malentendus sont toujours faciles à créer; et, à l'heure qu'il est, ils sont plus à craindre que jamais. Aussi ne mettons-nous pas en doute que nos amis élèveront la voix pour éclairer les Hellènes sur leurs propres intérêts, pour les rassurer sur les craintes qu'ils éprouvent à l'endroit de l'élément Grec de l'Empire Ottoman, pour leur faire entendre en même temps qu'il faut surtout une mesure à tout, et qu'il y aurait lieu de s'arrêter à propos, si l'on veut que cette démonstration de l'élément Hellénique contre les prétentions injustes du Panslavisme ne dégénère à la longue en auxiliaire des tendances subversives qu'elle était destinée à combattre.

Veuillez, M. l'Ambassadeur, vous exprimer dans ce sens dans vos conversations avec son Excellence M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, et agréer, &c.

(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 238.

Photiades Bey to Safvet Pasha.

Athènes, le 7 Novembre, 1876.

LE retour du Roi Georges, qui avait subi jusqu'ici des retards et des ajournements successifs, vient enfin d'avoir lieu. Sa Majesté est, en effet, arrivée aujourd'hui à Athènes.

Dans mon dernier Rapport du 1[er] de ce mois, en parlant des opinions qui existaient sur la question de savoir si le Gouvernement Hellénique avait soumis à

la Chambre des Députés avec ou sans le consentement du Roi, les projets de loi décrétant de grands préparatifs militaires, je disais à votre Excellence qu'à mon sens, la version la plus accréditée était celle d'après laquelle le Cabinet n'avait pris cette décision qu'après entente préalable avec le Souverain. Aujourd'hui, je constate que les événements m'ont donné raison, car il est maintenant de notoriété publique que toutes ces mesures ont été entièrement sanctionnées par le Roi.

Je dois également annoncer à votre Excellence que la nouvelle de la remise d'un Ultimatum à la Sublime Porte par la Russie a causé ici la plus vive sensation.

Le Cabinet d'Athènes a déjà adressé aux Grandes Puissances un long Memorandum dans lequel il prévient l'Europe que, si ses faveurs et ses protections se bornent aux Slaves et ne s'étendent pas aussi à l'Epire, à la Thessalie, à la Macédoine, et à l'Ile de Crète, la Grèce se verra dans la nécessité de suivre l'exemple de la Serbie et d'obtenir pour les Grecs de Turquie les priviléges et les faveurs que la Serbie parviendrait à faire accorder aux Provinces de Bosnie, d'Herzégovine, et de Bulgarie.

La plupart des hommes politiques d'Athènes, avec qui j'ai eu dernièrement des entretiens, m'ont tous tenu le langage et développé les raisonnements suivants:—

"Des Conférences vont s'ouvrir immanquablement pour régler définitivement les questions pendantes entre la Sublime Porte et ses sujets Slaves. La Grèce fera tous ses efforts pour que les Grecs de Turquie ne soient pas oubliés dans ces délibérations des Puissances. Si sa voix n'est pas écoutée, les préparatifs que nous poursuivons, m'ont-ils dit, actuellement, ont pour but, dans le cas où nos demandes ne seraient pas prises en considération, de soulever l'Epire, la Thessalie, la Macédoine, et l'Ile de Crète, et d'arriver au même résultat que les Slaves. L'Europe, ont ajouté mes interlocuteurs, qui ne peut pas avoir deux poids et deux mesures, se trouvera devant une question Hellénique; et le précédent qu'elle aura consacré pour les Slaves elle sera forcée de l'appliquer lorsqu'il s'agira des Grecs."

Voilà les intentions que ces sommités politiques m'ont manifestées, et qu'elles ont conservées, malgré tout ce que j'ai pu leur dire pour les rassurer, d'abord sur les dispositions bienveillantes de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan envers tous ses sujets, sans distinction de race et de religion, et leur démontrer ensuite les dangers certains et évidents auxquels la Grèce s'exposerait, si elle adoptait une politique aventureuse, en sacrifiant ainsi les avantages que lui assure le maintien des rapports de bon voisinage avec la Turquie.

Tel est le véritable état actuel des esprits en Grèce, et je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que je me ferai un devoir d'observer avec la plus grande attention les différentes phases de la situation, et d'en tenir votre Excellence exactement informée.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé)

No. 239.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 6.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Sublime Porte, le 22 Novembre*, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint, pour votre information personnelle, copie d'un rapport de notre Agent Commercial à Turno-Sévérin, concernant la situation générale des Principautés-Unies et la mission de M. Bratiano à Livadia.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 239.

Philoxenides Effendi to Safvet Pasha.

Turno-Sévérin, le 18 Octobre, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer qu'à partir du 14 jusqu'aujourd'hui sont passés par cette ville pour la Serbie le 15 soir 45 Bulgares de différentes villes de Moldo-Valachie et hier soir 120 Russes, parmi lesquels se trouvaient 5 officiers et 32 sous-officiers, et aujourd'hui ils ont gagné en embarcation Cladova.

Excellence, je crois de mon devoir de vous transmettre en outre les informations

suivantes sur la situation politique actuelle de ce pays après le voyage de M. Brătiano à Livadia, telles qu'elles m'ont été données par un membre du Sénat de Bucharest.

M. Bratiano aurait eu pleins pouvoirs pour conclure avec la Russie un Traité d'alliance offensive et défensive, après quoi le Prince Charles serait proclamé Roi de Roumanie, l'armée Roumaine serait placée sous le commandement suprême de la Russie et réorganisée par les officiers Russes. Les bouches du Danube, c'est-à-dire, la partie de la Bessarabie cédée à la Roumanie par le Traité de Paris, serait rendue à la Russie; mais le Royaume de Roumanie recevrait une brillante compensation par la rétrocession de la Bukovine et de la plus grande partie de la Transylvanie; et c'est par suite donc de cette alliance que le Gouvernement de Bucharest fait appel à toutes ses forces armées. Ce n'est plus seulement l'armée de ligne qui est mise sur le pied de guerre, mais aussi les milices.

Des ordres ont été expédiés en toute hâte aux 33 districts d'avoir à lever un contingent de 1,000 combattants par district, ce qui fait en tout 33,000 hommes qui seront ajoutés aux troupes de ligne.

D'après tous les calculs, les forces qui seront concentrées sur différents points du Danube s'élèveraient de 110,000 à 120,000 hommes de différentes armes et que la concentration qui se fait en ce moment n'a pas pour but les manœuvres comme cela se fait tous les ans et comme prétendent les journaux du Gouvernement; en outre qu'un ordre de Bucharest a été dernièrement expédié à tous les districts de suspendre le paiement des traitements des employés pour un temps de six mois, et que les préparatifs de toutes sortes se font en hâte à Bucharest comme si le pays se trouve à la veille d'une guerre. Il a ajouté que la convocation de la Chambre le 21 courant, v.s., a pour but d'examiner et de confirmer la susdite alliance, et l'on prévoit dès-à-présent que la Chambre n'hésitera point à confirmer à l'unanimité ce qu'a fait M. Bratiano à Livadia. La Chambre actuelle, créée par le Cabinet Bratiano, est par conséquent son organe dévoué tandis que le Sénat, composé la plupart de Conservateurs, n'est point disposée à troubler la tranquillité du pays et le pousser dans un état désastreux. Mais, si le Ministère Bratiano est appuyé par le Prince, ce qui est bien probable, il poussera le pays dans une complication très-grave dont les conséquences seront funestes pour les paisibles agricoles habitants Moldo-Valaques qui, voyant la situation déplorable de leurs voisins Serbes, ne désirent point à aucun prix s'allier avec les Russes et devenir leurs organes du Panslavisme.

Par conséquent, tous les gens bien sensés du pays se trouvent dans une inquiétude pour l'avenir et attendent avec anxiété et angoisse la décision de la Chambre de laquelle dépend l'avenir de ce pays.

En outre, au point de vue stratégique, une partie de l'armée Moldo-Valaque campera sur la rive gauche vis-à-vis de l'embouchure du Timok.

En portant ce qui précède à la connaissance de votre Excellence, &c.,

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No. 240.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 6.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, December 6*, 1876.

PRINCE BISMARCK'S speech, which is a repetition and development of what he said to Lord Salisbury, has produced a favourable impression in Berlin.

Emperor tells me that he has good news from St. Petersburgh. The peace party are gaining strength and supporting Czar in his wish to solve question without going to war.

No. 241.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 815.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 6*, 1876.

M. GENNADIUS communicated to me on the 30th ultimo a copy of a despatch from the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, referring to a Vizirial Order injuriously affecting the Orthodox Greek Church, which has been lately issued by the Porte to the Governor of the Vilayet of Salonica respecting the payment of diocesan dues by Bulgarians in their jurisdiction.

[1] No. 145.

I inclose a copy of that despatch, which I promised M. Gennadius I would communicate to you, and I have to request your Excellency to furnish me with a report upon it.[6]

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 242.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 822.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 6, 1876.*

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day and read to me confidentially a despatch from Salvet Pasha, dated the 23rd ultimo, to the following effect:—

The Porte sincerely deplored the events in Bulgaria, which, however, they considered had been much exaggerated in Mr. Baring's reports. As soon as the acts occasioned by the Bulgarian insurrection had become known, the Porte had done all in their power not only to put a stop to them but also to repair their consequences as much as possible. Several Commissions appointed to ascertain the facts and discover the guilty had been sent to Bulgaria, and finally the Ottoman Government had confided to a Commission, composed of functionaries belonging to all the communities, the duty of providing forthwith for the reconstruction of the houses, the greater part of which had been destroyed by the Bulgarians themselves, and to relieve the sufferings of the inhabitants of the districts which had been principally affected. At the commencement of winter this was necessarily the most pressing object the Porte had in view. This task is now being accomplished, and the Commissioners, in accordance with their instructions, are about to proceed to a rigorous inquiry to discover and punish the persons chiefly concerned in these acts, which had been committed in excess of and contrary to the desires of the Ottoman authorities.

The despatch instructed the Turkish Ambassador to point out that the English and Turkish Governments professed the same principles and were animated by the same desire to see the punishment of the guilty executed in the most complete manner, but the Porte did not doubt that Her Majesty's Government would recognize among those who had been indicated by public sentiment—often too prompt in accusation—as guilty, there might be some who could establish their innocence, and that, even among those who should be held to be guilty, all would not prove to be guilty in the same degree, and that it was consequently just that an impartial inquiry should be held to ascertain the guilt or innocence of all those of every rank who were accused of having taken part in the events in question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 243.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 6, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 6, 1876, 6·45 P.M.*

AN attempt to carry off the ex-Sultan Murad and the next brother of the present Sultan was made last night.

Two Turks, one Pole, disguised as a Turkish woman, and a Greek, formerly Capou-oglan of Her Majesty's Embassy, were arrested, and there was a steamer ready off the Palace.

In their depositions they all told the same improbable story, declaring themselves to be acting under the direction of the first Dragoman of the Russian Embassy.

No. 244.

Mr. Currie to Lord Tenterden.—(Received December 6, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 6, 1876, 7·10 P.M.*

SIR H. ELLIOT thinks Consul Moore only knows Arab, so it is arranged that Blunt, who is here, should be Lord Salisbury's interpreter.

No. 245.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 4.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, November 24, 1876.*

IN reference to reported arrival of reinforcements from Russia, mentioned in despatch No. 3, I will telegraph as soon as I have received further and more accurate information on this matter. A few days will suffice to show how far my information is correct. With the Russian force at present on the frontier, offensive operations against Asia Minor could not well be undertaken with much chance of success, supposing Kars to be properly provisioned and fortified, and a force concentrated at Erzeroum; should the Russian force on frontier be raised to 80,000, there could be, after leaving 15,000 to observe Kars and 30,000 on the defensive portions of the frontier, some 40,000 at the disposal of the Russian General for advance on Erzeroum. Late accounts give 8,000 at Erivan, 20,000 in the camp near Alexandropol, 6,000 at Ozurget, and 6,000 at Achalsikle.

I am informed Mussulmans in Erivan district lately sent letter to Sultan, offering assistance in case of war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. T. RICKETTS.

No. 246.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 7.)

(No. 247. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, November 28, 1876.*

I UNDERSTAND that Moukhtar Pasha has sent his Secretary, Azarian Effendi, to Cettigné, to treat with Prince Nicholas as to the revictualling of Nichsich.

The Turkish discontent at the line of demarkation settled by the "Commission Arbitrale" continues unabated; and I am generally accused of having influenced Colonel Lennox, and through him the Commission, in a sense favourable to the Montenegrin pretensions.

I need hardly say that, even if I had ever expressed an opinion upon the matter (and I neither gave one, nor was asked for one by anybody), Colonel Lennox is not the man to regard any other consideration than those of fact; not to come to a decision upon any other grounds than those which are equitable from a military point of view.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 247.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 7.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 7, 1876.*

I HAVE received following from Belgrade:—

"French Consul and also myself just received reliable information that Servian Minister for Foreign Affairs about to make representation to Powers that Servia should be represented in the Conference. M. Hecquard guarantees statement, requesting you should not state information came from him."

No. 248.

Lord Tenterden to Mr. Currie.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 7, 1876, 5·20 P.M.*

LORD DERBY approves Mr. Blunt acting as interpreter instead of Mr. Moore.

No. 248.[a]

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

(No. 9.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 8, 1876.*

I APPROVE the language in which, as reported in your despatch No. 239 of the 23rd ultimo, you met the insinuations of Constant Pasha as to the partiality of the Armistice Commission of which Colonel Lennox is a member.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 249.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 8.)

(No. 248. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, November 28, 1876.*

THE notorious partisan leader, the priest Mussich, was arrested on the 26th instant on Austrian soil, near Stagus, and will, I am told, be interned at Klazenput.

On his arrival in Ragusa he received quite an ovation from the populace.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 250.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 33. Political.)

My Lord, *Erzeroum, November 7, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of despatches addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding the proceedings of the Russian Consulate here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

Inclosure 1 in No. 250.

Consul Zohrab to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Erzeroum, November 5, 1876.*

I HAD the honour to address the following telegrams to your Excellency yesterday:—

(In cypher.)

"Russian Consul's family just started for Gumri. Russian Consul leaves in two days for Kars, publicly stated on business, really to await there ultimate orders; much excitement and military activity here; beg immediate reply to open telegram going with this. Should British protection to Russian subjects be refused they may suffer much."

(Open.)

"Russian Consul having to go to Kars on business, requests my friendly offices to protect Russian subjects pending his absence. Can I accept?"

The Russian Consul, M. Obermüller, came to me on the night of the 3rd instant and confidentially told me that he had received telegraphic instructions from General Ignatiew to send his family immediately over the Russian frontier, and to proceed himself to Kars and await there final instructions; he was further ordered to request one of his colleagues, being a Consul, to protect all Russian subjects remaining at

Erzeroum. M. Obermüller added that this despatch had been delayed two days in transmission.

M. Obermüller said that he intended sending his family with his Cancellier and his family away the next morning, and that he would follow them in two days, and he requested me to protect Russian interests here.

I told M. Obermüller that, however willing I may be to accept the charge, the ability to do so did not rest with me, but that I must refer the subject to your Excellency. He seemed so nervous that the manner in which I might forward the request might compromise him, that to calm him I wrote the open despatch.

Madame Obermüller, and the Cancellier with his family, started early yesterday morning, the Cancellier having previously sold off his furniture and his stores.

The consternation into which this town was thrown by this event it would be difficult to describe. Those of the subjects of Russia, who could, at once commenced preparations for immediate departure, whilst others came to implore my protection.

In the town the wildest rumours were rapidly circulated, and military preparations were actively pushed.

I called on Samih Pasha expecting to obtain some decisive information, but to my surprise his Excellency appealed to me for an explanation of this sudden departure of the Russians, which I certainly could not give. He told me that M. Obermüller had received two long despatches in cypher from Constantinople, and that another despatch not in cypher had just arrived informing M. Obermüller that a two months' armistice had been concluded, and that he was to continue his duties.

On my return to my house I learned that M. Obermüller had just left the town to overtake and bring back the travellers.

I was anxious to ascertain whether M. Obermüller had not been too precipitate in sending his family so suddenly away, and I have been able to learn that the orders he received were peremptory, and to the effect that his family must quit immediately and without loss of time.

Madame Obermüller and the Cancellier came back this afternoon, and the excitement and consternation which their departure created became manifest in the satisfied looks and reassured appearance in the large crowd which assembled to witness their return.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

Inclosure 2 in No. 250.

Consul Zohrab to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Erzeroum, November 5, 1876.*

I HAVE to-day had the honour to telegraph to your Excellency, in cypher, the return of Madame Obermüller, as follows:—

"Russian Consul received open order to remain here as Porte had accepted Russian demands and granted two months' armistice; has brought back family; previous telegrams were in cypher messages."

M. Obermüller has just called on me and given me, confidentially, an explanation of the course he has pursued. He told me that on Thursday evening last, he received two cypher telegrams from General Ignatiew, bearing date the 30th and 31st of October, one directing him to prepare for immediate departure, the other ordering him to leave for Kars at once with the Consular archives and there to await further instructions, which would be given him by an officer in Georgia, and under whose orders he was in future to consider himself.

Seeing that the instructions were peremptory he at once acted on them, and thus, on Saturday morning, sent off his wife with the Cancellier and most important archives. A few hours after their departure he received an open telegram from General Ignatiew telling him that, as the Porte had acceded to all the demands of the Russian Government, and had also consented to two months' armistice, he was to remain at Erzeroum.

I asked M. Obermüller if he could explain why the order to leave were sent in cypher and the one to remain was an open telegram. He said he supposed General Ignatiew would be under the impression that the cypher book would have been sent away and that consequently a telegram in cypher would not have been understood.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 251.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 34. Political.)
My Lord, *Erzeroum, November* , 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of my despatch No. 79 to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, relating to the military conditions of this province and the preparations making to meet a Russian advance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

Inclosure in No. 251.

Consul Zohrab to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Erzeroum, November* 6, 1876.

ON my calling on Samih Pasha yesterday, I found his Excellency apparently anxious and uneasy in regard to the threatening turn events had taken, and he spoke very frankly with me on his ability to meet an advance of the Russians.

His Excellency did not hide from me his opinion that were the Russians to advance at once across the frontier they could not be effectually opposed, as there is no force concentrated which could resist an enemy.

At Kars there are only eight battalions of infantry; at Ardahan the force is yet smaller, and at Beyajid there are very few troops.

With time to do so, and means, his Excellency said he would bring up the Fourth army corps to 120,000. This would, however, necessitate the expenditure of much larger sums than I apprehend the Government could command, and it would require qualities in those to whom would devolve the duty of enrolling men, which do not exist, energy, courage, honesty, and perseverance.

The Fourth army corps is composed mostly of Koords, who have always been averse to military discipline, and have invariably endeavoured to elude the conscription.

The Koords are well acquainted with the position of the Porte, and its inability to control them; they are opposed to the Government, and any demands on them for men will be unheeded, and, if pressed, resisted. The Government, therefore, can depend only on the Mussulmans (not Koords) and on those Koords who have abandoned nomadic life, and who, consequently, could offer no resistance, for swelling the ranks of the Fourth army corps.

Knowing that I was present at the siege of Kars in 1851, his Excellency asked me many questions on what ought to be done to defend that fortified position, and he entered into my opinion that the smallest force which could hold it would be 40 battalions (25,000 men). To place it in a state of defence would therefore require almost every soldier now under arms in this Province, and none would be left to protect other points.

Samih Pasha spoke in very bitter terms, and certainly not without justice of his military subordinates. He told me he had not a single Pasha in whom he could trust, or who was capable of making a suggestion, or carrying out an order which had not been given in minute detail. He had represented all this to the Government, but in vain, no capable officers were sent to assist him, and no notice taken of his request to have the assistance of two or three Pashas he named as being capable men.

The military command at Kars, he told me, was now confided to a Pasha in whom he had no confidence, who is shamefully ignorant, and whom he cannot trust.

Of the battalions in Koordistan, forming the present Fourth army corps (the best troops being in Roumelia) there are certainly not more than twenty which would prove steady under fire, the other battalions being composed nearly altogether of men who have been taken by force from their homes, would try to avoid fighting, and would watch for the first favourable moment to desert. They may do to swell a muster-roll, but they would be quite useless in war.

I can thus say that Koordistan possesses no army which could make even a show of defence against the Russians, and if Russia declares war, and the Porte does not adopt speedy and energetic measures to concentrate a proper force at Kars and

Erzeroum, the Russian army would march, practically unopposed, through the country.

With good officers and good pay regularly given, the Rediffs might be changed into good steady soldiers, but so long as they are commanded by ignorant, dishonest, and cowardly officers, so long as they receive a miserable pittance, either paid at irregular and long intervals, or not paid at all, so long will they prove useless for the defence of their country.

In case of war the Government will have another enemy besides the Russians to oppose,—the Koords.

The nomad Koords are now practically in revolt, and many of the Chiefs are known to be in Russian pay. As the Government avoids all action which would make the attitude of these Koords apparent, the position they have assumed is not evident, but it is well known to those who go amongst them, and a war with Russia would at once bring them to the front as the enemies of the Porte, and the paid auxiliaries of Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. ZOHRAB.

No. 252.

Consul Carruthers to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 56.)
My Lord, *Tuganrog, November* 16, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to report that a general movement of troops has commenced in this quarter; all the reserve forces and the military on furlough have received orders to join their respective corps.

The railway trains for goods and likewise those for passengers are suspended, to make way for the conveyance of troops and their accoutrements.

A large body of men, said to number 14,000, are on passage viâ Rostoff on the Don, for Vladikavkaz, the Caucasus, and Georgia.

All the horses at this place and environs are called out, in order that selection may be made of such as are suitable for the cavalry, for the artillery, and for baggage conveyance. Carts with drivers, moreover, are being pressed into the service.

The movement and general commotion, in fact, greatly exceeds that which took place in this quarter prior to the late Crimean war. Russia appears to be determined on warfare.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. CARRUTHERS.

No. 253.

Consul Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 18. Consular.)
My Lord, *Rustchuk, November* 15, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship, herewith inclosed, a report on this province.

From the circumstances that have arisen here during the present year, it has been utterly impossible to obtain any reliable statistical information whatever. I am, however, always on the search, and, should I succeed, I shall not fail to forward to your Lordship whatever I may be able to obtain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. READE.

Inclosure in No. 253.

General Report by Consul Reade on the Vilayet of the Danube.

Territorial extent.—The Vilayet of the Danube, which forms that part of Bulgaria north of the Balkan Mountains, and lies between 29° 30′ and 29° 40′ east longitude,

and 40° 50' and 44° 30' north latitude, covers a superficial area of about 30,000 square miles.

Boundaries.—It is bounded on the north by the River Danube; on the west by the Principality of Servia; on the east by the Black Sea; and on the south by the Balkan Mountains.

Population.—Its population may be approximately stated to be about 3,000,000 souls.

Divisions of the Vilayet.—The Vilayet is divided into seven Mutessarifs, viz., Widdin, Rustchuk, Tultcha, Nisch, Sofia, Tirnova, and Varna, all under a Governor-General, whose seat is at Rustchuk. Each Mutessarif is again divided into Caïmakamliks and each Caïmakamlik into Mudirliks.

General aspect of the Vilayet.—That part of Bulgaria which comprises this vilayet is richer in wood and water than the part south of the Balkans, and, this range of mountains excepted, the vilayet consists chiefly of plains interspersed with hills; in the vicinity of the Danube it is chiefly plain.

Rivers.—The rivers of Bulgaria are numerous but not navigable. The principal ones are the Isker in Western Bulgaria, which rises in the Balkan Mountains and falls into the Danube, between Nicopoli and Rahova.

In Eastern Bulgaria the Jantra passes Tirnova and falls into the Danube near Schistoo.

The Lom rises near Djuma, and falls into the Danube at Rustchuk.

They are principally tributaries of the Danube, and the only one floatable for timber is the Kamtchik, which falls into the Black Sea.

Lakes.—There are only two lakes in the vilayet worthy of notice, the Rasui in the Dobrudja and the Lake of Devna close to Varna.

The former affords only a fishery, but engineers have stated that a safe and commodious harbour might be formed of the latter, being separated from the sea by only a small isthmus of marshy ground, which could easily be perforated, and thus form a good communication with the Black Sea.

Fisheries.—The sturgeon fisheries on the shores of the Danube are productive, and the fish taken on the Black Sea coast are chiefly turbot, soles, grey mullet, mackerel, and skate, but from the want of good fishermen the quantity taken is comparatively small.

Climate.—The climate of the vilayet is generally salubrious, except on the shores of the Danube, where, from the stagnant waters along the parts where the water when the river is high overflows, fevers are prevalent. The winters are long and often very severe, and the changes from cold to heat are often very sudden.

Diseases.—The most prevalent diseases are fever, pleurisy, and pneumonia.

The cholera has broken out here on several occasions and with some severity, but this was more attributable to the negligence of the authorities than to the climate.

Winds.—The most prevalent winds here are, in winter, the north-east and north-west, and, in summer, the south-west and east. Hurricanes of the most violent description occur here; they are of but short duration, but often cause considerable damage.

Mineral Productions.—The principal known mineral productions of the vilayet are iron and coal. Deposits of coal have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Widdin, Travna, and between Varna and Baltchick on the Black Sea; but such has been the inattention of the Government to this important subject that little, amounting, in fact, to nothing, has been done to develop these valuable productions of nature. In the hands of respectable Companies the working of these mines would be attended with very favourable results.

Vegetables.—Vegetables in general, in some parts of this vilayet, are not cultivated to an extent sufficient for local consumption; the consequence is that considerable quantities are imported from Constantinople, and their prices are comparatively very high.

Cereals.—The chief productions are hard and soft wheat, barley, and maize. Millet and rye are also cultivated to a far smaller extent.

The produce of the vilayet would form a far more extensive trade were the Government to construct a good port at Varna, and also make good roads from the interior to the railway and the Danube; but such is the neglect in this respect that the expense of carriage prevents the proper development of the trade.

Animals.—The animals of Bulgaria supplying labour, food, and raw material of manufacture, are horses, buffaloes, oxen, sheep, goats, and pigs.

Horses.—The horse of Bulgaria, though small and badly shaped, shows a good admixture of docility and bone; it is, moreover, very hardy and admirably adapted for purposes of labour.

Oxen.—The oxen are chiefly used for tillage and draft, to which they are well adapted. During the autumn a large number are slaughtered in the different butcheries of the large towns, and the meat, when dried in the sun, and called "pasturma," is exported to Constantinople; a good deal of the tallow goes to Austria.

Buffaloes.—The climate of Bulgaria is adapted to the Buffalo, but as it suffers from extremes of heat and cold, it requires to be carefully tended.

Sheep.—The number of sheep in Bulgaria is very considerable, and the wool is exported chiefly to Austria, a good deal to France.

Goats.—The skins of the goats are in a great part kept in the vilayet, and when tanned and dyed are used for the manufacture of shoes.

Pigs.—The breeding of pigs is inferior to that of Servia; a considerable number, however, are exported to Austria.

There is a considerable exportation of turkeys, geese, ducks, and fowls from the Port of Varna to Constantinople, and several million eggs are also sent annually to the capital.

Industry.—The industry of Bulgaria is in a very backward condition, owing, principally, not only to the absence of all encouragement from the Government, but also to the imposts levied thereon.

A sort of brown cloth is manufactured in different parts, but not to any extent beyond the requirements of the vilayet.

Commerce.—The commerce of the vilayet suffers from the evils that impede its industry.

The exportation is comparatively very limited, chiefly for want of a port at Varna.

The trade is tributary to that of Galatz and Ibraila in Roumania, which places purchase in the province only what happens to be wanting in their markets.

The principal produce of the vilayet consists of hard and soft wheat, barley and Indian corn.

The approximate quality of cereals produced annually is about 1,500,000 tons of 23 quintals—a quantity that ought to maintain a very important trade, but such is the negligence of the Government as regards the Port of Varna and the communications between the interior, the railway, and the Danube, that the trade is not one-fifth of what it might be.

Exports.—The exports of the vilayet consist of wheat, barley, maize, flour, tallow, butter, cheese, dried meat, skins, poultry, bone of cattle, wool and firewood.

Imports.—The imports consist of manufactures, coffee, sugar, iron, valonia, campeachy wood, salt, hardware, copper and coals.

Banks.—The only bank here is a branch of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which, although only established last year, has already proved to be of great advantage to the Government as well as to the trade of the place.

Roads.—The roads of the province, although they are very far from being perfect, still they are better than those of many other provinces of the Empire. Most of them were constructed about ten years ago by Mithad Pasha, but very little care has been taken of them ever since.

Administration.—The vilayet is governed by a Vali or Governor-General, who is over all the employés of the vilayet.

The Vali is charged with political affairs, the execution of judicial sentences, and the application of the laws of the Empire.

He has under him a Defterdar, or Director of Finance, who, although under his orders, is, nevertheless, responsible to the Minister of Finance.

Over the Mutasserifliks are Lieutenant-Governors, who are responsible to the Vali, and under whom are Caïmacams or Governors of Sub-Divisions.

The Director of Customs is alone independent of the Vali.

Posts.—There are two posts here—the Turkish and the Austrian. From the irregularity of the former, the Austrian monopolises the post to Europe, and also to Constantinople; in fact the Turkish post is restricted to the communication with the interior.

Telegraphs.—There are local telegraph lines all over the vilayet, and all are connected with the main lines east and west.

Railways.—The only lines of railway in the vilayet are the Varna and Rustchuck, and the Black Sea line between Kustendji and Tchernavoda. Both are English

property, but the former is let to the "Compagnie Ottomane d'Exploitation des Chemins de Fer en Turquie d'Europe."

Public Establishments.—There are two orphan asylums in Rustchuk, one for boys and the other for girls. They were founded by Mithad Pasha, and, for Turkey, are fairly conducted. The boys, besides receiving a secular education, are taught different trades. The girls are also taught music and needlework.

Hospitals.—There is a very fair Town Hospital in Rustchuk, also founded by Mithad Pasha. There are also hospitals in the different Mutasserifliks.

General Remarks.—From the events that have occurred in this vilayet during the present year, which were occupying the attention of the authorities just at the moment when it is usually possible to obtain any statistical information, and which threw them into such a state of confusion that the foregoing report has been the only one possible to draw up during the present year, but should affairs take a more favourable turn, it will then be more possible to furnish what is wanting.

It must further be remarked that when the Vilayet of the Danube was established some dozen years ago, Mithad Pasha, a man of great energy, capacity, and influence, (which latter is the first essential in Turkey), was placed at its head, and from the enlightened ideas of his Excellency, the vilayet was established on a foundation till then unknown to Turkey.

In the town of Rustchuk two excellent Orphan Asylums, one for boys and one for girls, a very good town Hospital, an efficient Municipal Council, a Steam-Navigation Company, a town and country Carriage Company, one or two Flour Mills worked by steam, a Model Farm with implements of the newest invention, and to mention other minor matters, good streets and lamps in the principal parts of the town.

In the country, good roads were constructed between the principal towns and villages; and such a system of police was established that put an end to the brigandage that till then had infested almost every part of the Province.

The towns and villages in the interior were not overlooked, and placed in a state of order till then unknown.

All this went on very well and great progress was made during the years that his Excellency remained here, but unfortunately this satisfactory state of things, that might ultimately have been established all over the Empire (for the creation of the Vilayet of the Danube was in fact an experiment,) and thus raised it from its then unsatisfactory position, was not fated to last. The Pasha was removed, and thus, as there was only one Mithad Pasha, the Province was allowed to return to its former condition; and which ever since has been going gradually from bad to worse.

As regards the commerce and industry of the Province, great strides were being made during the time of Mithad Pasha, but which ever since have been constantly going lower and lower down

It is indeed melancholy to see what can only be called the ruins of what the Pasha left here. The establishments that have been mentioned certainly exist, but are only in fact records of disgrace to the Governors that have been sent here since the removal of Mithad Pasha.

The asylums and hospitals are not quite so bad as the municipality, which an inspection of the street and lamps alone are sufficient to show. The revenue at the disposal of this Board is double or treble what would be sufficient to carry out, and well, what is put under its supervision; but such has been the spirit of corruption and peculation that has pervaded the whole administration that at least three-fourths of the revenue that ought to be expended on the place regularly disappears.

Taking the state of things here into consideration, it may be imagined what that of the rest of the Province is, where it is well known that, for obvious reasons, there is no interference to be feared from this.

This being the state of things, what can the commerce and industry of the vilayet be but a system that any honest man would blush to have anything to do with.

Those private individuals who are called rich, have got their money simply by usury to the average extent of about 40 per cent., and when you consider the system of extortion practised on them, you can hardly express any wonder.

Then as to the administration of Justice, which is a farce from one end of the Province to the other, justice is simply sold to the highest bidder, be he right or wrong, and this is done most unblushingly.

Then there is the Police Department. Cases in number of its system could be given, but fear of their not being believed generates hesitation in giving them.

It is in fact difficult to point out one single department of the entire administration in which the grossest acts of irregularity or injustice are not of daily occurrence.

When a Consul has to support a dependant of his Consulate in any Tribunal, if his dependant has not taken the necessary steps privately, the Consul is in a state of collision with the Tribunal from begining to end.

Be the reforms promised by the Porte the very best, and be the intentions of the Government ever so honest and sincere, with the element that at present form their Provincial Administrations, the best Government will be utterly unable to carry out their reforms in the least satisfactory manner, as they will never eradicate from the mind of the present employés of Turkey the ideas that are the causes of the present gross system of Government.

Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that it has been found so easy to stir up the Christians to revolt. It never will as long as the present system lasts.

As for expecting to see a commerce or an industry such as exist in any well-regulated country, this is out of the question; as those acquainted with the country well know that success is impossible without the adoption of the same principles that inspire the administration by which they are governed.

(Signed) R. READE, *Her Majesty's Consul.*

No. 254.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 9.*)

(No. 1311.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 24, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 1247 and 1262 of the 6th and 9th instant, I have the honour to inclose the copy of a telegram which I have received from Colonel Lennox, stating that there was a discrepancy between his instructions and those of his French colleague.

I telegraphed to Colonel Lennox that in case of any difference in their instructions the Commissioners should concert upon the best course to be pursued, and upon the following day the subject was brought before a meeting of the Representatives at which an identic telegram to the Commissioners was agreed upon, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, leaving greatly to their discretion the point upon which the divergence had occurred.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 254.

Colonel Lennox to Sir H. Elliot.

(Télégraphique.) *Ragusa, le 21 Novembre, 1876.*

IL y a divergence entre les instructions modificatives du Commissaire Français et celle que je reçoive aujourd'hui: les unes disent que la Commission "se dirigera vers Trébigné, &c., si elle a dû établir," les autres "se diriger vers, &c., pour établi." La Commission croit inutile et presque impossible de faire toute entière le voyage indiqué juge suffisant de déléguer deux membres si les vérifications sur place sont nécessaires. Veuillez me donner des instructions précises.

Inclosure 2 in No. 254.

Sir H. Elliot to Colonel Lennox.

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 23, 1876.*

WITH the view of leaving the proceedings of the Commission greatly to its discretion the Ambassadors have agreed upon the following identic telegram to their Delegates:—

"Comme il est désirable que la ligne de démarcation soit fixée au plus tôt nous n'exigeons nullement le voyage de la Commission et nous lui abandonnons de déléguer

quelques uns de ses membres pour la vérification sur les lieux en les repartissant comme elle le jugerait à propos."

No. 255.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 1312.) *Constantinople, November 25, 1876.*

My Lord,

BY direction of the Sultan a Commission has been formed for the relief of the families who have suffered in Bosnia and the Herzegovina during the insurrection.

No distinction is to be made with regard to the race or creed of the recipients of the relief, and the authorities are directed to prepare carefully a return of the sufferers in their districts.

Midhat Pasha will be President of the Commission, and the Grand Logothete and Savas will be able and efficient Christian members of it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 256.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 1313. Confidential.) *Constantinople, November 25, 1876.*

My Lord,

THE constitution of the Bosnian and Herzegovinan Relief Commission, reported in another despatch of this date, has exhibited the disposition of the Sultan in a more liberal light than that of his Grand Vizier.

When His Majesty ordered its formation he directed the Grand Vizier to submit to him the names of the members to compose it. He was displeased upon receiving a list of none but Mussulman names, and sent it back with an intimation that as the relief was intended for all classes of his subjects, and as the principal sufferers were Christians, there must be two Christians upon the Commission.

Upon this the Grand Vizier submitted to the Sultan the names of a Greek banker and of an Armenian, but His Majesty, not considering them possessed of the requisite character and independence, replaced them by the names of the Grand Logothete and Savas Pasha, the latter being a man of known courage in supporting his opinion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 257.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 478.) *Rome, December 5, 1876.*

My Lord,

M. MELEGARI, whom I saw this morning, expressed himself pleased with the speech of Prince Bismarck at the dinner given to the Members of the German Parliament.

His Excellency considers it shows that the alliance between Germany and Russia is not so absolute as was generally supposed, and he had read with satisfaction that part of it which says that "if Austria should be drawn into the war, and her existence were imperilled, Germany would be obliged to guarantee her existence, and also, in general, the existence of the present geographical arrangements."

His Excellency then referred to his conversation with Lord Salisbury, with which he again said he had been greatly satisfied, as it showed that there was a complete agreement in the policy of the two countries.

I said that Lord Salisbury had learnt the policy of the Italian Government with pleasure, and counted on the support of the Italian Representative at Constantinople.

M. Melegari replied that he might do so thoroughly. He had even suggested to

Lord Salisbury that Count Corti might possibly be of use to him in communicating indirectly with General Ignatiew.

Speaking of the possible occupation of Bulgaria by Russia, M. Melegari said that his principal reason for objecting to this step was that it would inevitably entail an occupation of Bosnia by Austria, which could not fail to end in annexation, which would lead to the most serious complications. Moreover, if Russia once advanced into Turkish territory, who could say where she would or could stop?

All the Powers, therefore, that desired the maintenance of peace should use their utmost endeavours to avert any military occupation whatever. If the Powers could agree as to the measures of reform, which, within the sphere of the proposals of Her Majesty's Government, he thought should be as liberal as possible, they should, in his opinion be proposed collectively for the acceptance of the Porte, with the intimation that, if they were not accepted, they would be imposed. He thought it unlikely that the Turkish Government would decline compliance with the advice of United Europe thus offered.

But supposing they did; what, in his Excellency's opinion, I inquired, should be the next step?

M. Melegari replied that the Porte must then be left to its own resources.

His Excellency has far from a mean opinion of the powers of Turkish resistance, and thinks that though Russia must conquer in the end by force of sheer numbers, the effort it may cost her to do so may possibly be disastrous to the Russian Empire itself.

His Excellency informed me he was to receive to-day the Bulgarian Deputation which has been also in London and Paris. They are to be presented by Count Rasponi, whose wife was a Ghika.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 257[a].

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 467. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Rome, November 27, 1876.*

THEIR Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Piedmont having returned to Rome at the end of last week, I had this morning the customary honour of being received by their Royal Highnesses to pay my respects.

The Prince and Princess, as is usual, received me separately, and His Royal Highness, after a few preliminary observations, began to speak of the visit he made to Russia during last summer.

His Royal Highness said that he had not had much inclination for the journey, but it was thought desirable he should go, and so he went. What had struck him most, he said, was the immense progress which had been made by the Russian infantry. The troops which he had seen had a magnificent appearance, and were admirably drilled, disciplined, and armed. The officers, too, were highly instructed,—perhaps not so much as the Germans, but they, nevertheless, formed a very intelligent and efficient corps.

I asked His Royal Highness whether during his stay he had observed much enthusiasm for the Sclavonic cause either amongst the troops or in other quarters.

He replied, "I will give you an instance. I asked the Emperor's permission to visit a camp which was formed at a few hours from Moscow. The Emperor at once complied, and begged me not only to inspect the troops, but to manœuvre them, and do what I liked with them. I accordingly had a field day, and when it came to the march past each regiment in turn set up the most frantic cry of 'Vivent nos frères les Slaves! La guerre, la guerre!' This is the spirit, you may rely upon it," His Royal Highness continued, "which pervades the army, and not only the army, but the great mass of the people in Russia. They will be satisfied by nothing but a war; a holy war, in their estimation, to which they are urged on by their Popes."

His Royal Highness proceeded to tell me that he had seen M. de Cracow, the head of the Philoslavonic Societies in Russia, who made no secret of its being the firm purpose of the Russian people to get possession, sooner or later, of Constantinople, notwithstanding anything which might be said to the contrary by the Emperor or his Government. It was an absurdity, in M. de Cracow's mind, to talk of the possession of Constantinople as being an element of weakness to the Russian Empire. It was

the destiny of Russia to go there; it was the only way in which the happiness and welfare of their brother Slavs could be effectually secured; and, when once it became the capital, Russians would find it, on account of the climate and for other considerations, a very much more agreeable one than St. Petersburgh. Therefore, have it they must and would, some day or other.

The Prince further told me that he had had much conversation with the Emperor upon these subjects, and that His Majesty's language had been most pacific. His Majesty had disclaimed any ambitious objects, and had declared that he had nothing so much at heart as a pacific solution of the present crisis; "but then," added His Royal Highness, "in the words of Prince Gortchakow, to whom I repeated a good deal of what the Emperor had said to me, 'c'est vrai que l'Empereur est pacifique, mais il ne représente plus la Russie,' a rather strong expression," said His Royal Highness, "to come out of the mouth of the Chancellor of the Russian Empire."

I asked His Royal Highness if he had an opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of any of the Imperial Grand Dukes. He said he had only spoken with the Grand Duke Nicholas, who was burning with a desire to perform some military exploit which should place his reputation as a Commander on a par with that of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia. Metz rankled in his mind, and generally speaking there was the greatest jealousy in the Russian army of the army of Germany. They could not help feeling the superiority of the latter, though they would not acknowledge it.

It is the Prince's strong conviction that nothing can now prevent Russia going to war, unless, indeed, there should be a combination of all Europe to arrest her. "But," he said, "with the great German Chancellor playing his quiet little game at Varzin, what chance is there of this?" Prince Bismarck, in His Royal Highness' opinion, while professing to be doing nothing but endeavouring to maintain peace and a good understanding between the Empires of Austria and Russia, had secretly and by insidious advice been fanning the flame of Russian ambition, so that when things became sufficiently embroiled he may come forward and dictate his own terms. His Royal Highness said he felt perfectly certain that there was a distinct understanding between Prince Bismarck and the Russian Cabinet; that he had said to Russia, "I give you *carte blanche* to do what you like in the East, provided you will not interfere with what I may please to do elsewhere." "Quitte," said His Royal Highness, "à s'arranger avec la Russie plus tard," for a war between Germany and Russia must, in the Prince's opinion, surely come sooner or later; and His Royal Highness considers that the German army could be at Warsaw in ten days.

His Royal Highness now fears for Austria, and thinks Prince Bismarck will not be satisfied till he has further humiliated France.

I asked His Royal Highness why he thought Germany would seek another war with France. Germany, I observed, could not obtain a better frontier than she had now. "That is quite true," said the Prince, "but Germany feels that France is sure to attack her, should a favourable opportunity occur, and therefore Prince Bismarck thinks it will be better to attack France while she is comparatively weak, and her only probable ally, Russia, is engaged elsewhere; and if he does attack her, he will lay her prostrate for the next forty or fifty years. The Germans," added His Royal Highness, "have been surprised and dismayed at the rapidity with which France has recovered from her reverses, and are determined, if they go to war again, to take better precautions for the future."

His Royal Highness said he could not help being struck by one or two incidents which took place during his stay in Russia, as showing how much the Emperor Alexander sought occasion to flatter and conciliate the Emperor William. He would only mention one which took place at a review, when the German Ambassador, M. de Scheveinitz, was requested to place himself at the head of the Emperor William's regiment when it marched past, and then to take up his position at the right of the Czar, so that the troops might defile before him.

His Royal Highness expressed himself with great lucidity and ease, and I was the more struck by it, as it is the first time I have heard him speak as if he had trained his mind to think upon serious subjects. His Royal Highness's testimony as to the efficiency of the Russian army, is, I think, to be accepted as coming from one who has always been devoted to the military profession, and from the experience he has had of it, both in war and peace, is capable of forming a correct judgment. He told me that the last time he saw any Russian troops was ten years ago.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 258.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received December* 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December* 8, 1876.

INTERVIEWS have produced following provisional propositions from General Ignatiew:—

Bulgaria, one province; covers nearly all coloured yellow in Kiepert's map, except Varna, Adrianople, Wodena. Christian Governors holding office five years, named by Porte with assent of Powers. Provincial Councils elected by Cantonal Councils. Governor appoints Prefects of Departments, Christian or Mussulman, according to predominant creed. Cantonal Councils elected by people. Mayors named by Governor from three elected candidates. Cantons contain about 10,000 people, grouped, if possible, by creeds. Mayors small cause Judges; larger Tribunals in each department, Court of Appeal in province. Judges partly elected, partly appointed, three years on probation, then for life. Religious causes go to Ecclesiastical Courts of several creeds. Militia and police contain Christians proportionately to population. Governor appoints officers. Functionaries, if Mussulmans, must be natives. Local language in Tribunals and administration. Tithes fixed sums paid by Canton which distributes burden.

Punishment of atrocities; irregular troops disbanded. Amnesty of Christians. Turkish troops remain in fortified places, unless required by Governor. Importation by Porte of Circassians to cease; those already imported to be induced, where possible, to return to Asia. Porte to engage for all reforms in Protocol. Mussulmans to be disarmed. International Commission to arrange all details and supervise execution, and to have sufficient material force to make decisions respected and preserve tranquillity.

These last demands are greatest difficulty. General Ignatiew now proposes force should be 6,000 Belgians or Italians. Have promised to report proposition, but have not encouraged.

No. 259.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December* 9, 1876.

CONSUL WHITE'S assistance is very important to me at present; therefore I have kept him.

No. 260.

Colonel Lennox to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 9, 3·45 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Ragusa, December* 9, 1876, 3 P.M.

FROM telegram received from Constantinople by a colleague, it seems that I and my colleagues are to arrange the armistice boundary between Turkey and Bosnia. If so, as your letter of the 2nd November only appoints me delegate between Turkey and Montenegro, new powers are apparently requisite.

With reference to your letter of the same date, I should then require a cypher.

No. 261.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 9.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, December* 9, 1876.

THE Turkish Ambassador stated to me last night that he saw Count Andrassy after Lord Salisbury left Vienna, and that his Excellency told him that the Porte must object in the Conference to any proposals which may appear to prejudice its interests and independence.

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* Repeated to Embassies.

No. 262.

Mr. Lister to Mr. Galton.

Foreign Office, December 9, 1876.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter of the 26th of August last, I am directed by the Earl of Derby to transmit to you herewith a copy of a note from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople[a] requesting that the thanks of the Ottoman Government may be expressed to the Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War for the humane work undertaken by its officers, and stating that the Turkish Minister of War wishes to be provided with some more specimens of the badges and documents supplied to them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

No. 263.

Sir C. Wyke to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 10.)

Copenhagen, December 7, 1876.

(No. 120. Confidential.)

My Lord,

THE speech lately made by Prince Bismarck at his official dinner at Berlin, has created considerable surprise here, for, as I have already informed your Lordship in my Confidential despatch No. 118 of the 1st instant, this Government had reason to believe from despatches received from Berlin and St. Petersburgh, that Germany had completely espoused the Russian cause, and that she was prepared even to afford material assistance to that Power in her possible war with Turkey, if necessary.

M. Vedel again informed me yesterday, in the course of a conversation I had with him upon this subject, that this impression had been confirmed by despatches since received from their Agents in Paris and Rome, adding an expression said to have been used in the latter city by Lord Salisbury, that "he now went to Constantinople like a doctor called in at the last moment, without the slightest hope of being able to save his patient!"

In a leading article of to-day's "Dagbladt" the surprise to which I have above alluded is also expressed, as the tone of Prince Bismarck's speech is considered to be quite anti-Russian.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES LENNOX WYKE.

No. 264.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 10, 1·30 P.M.)

Vienna, December 10, 1876, 10·45 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday, might not some modification of system in Russia of appointing military and civil Governors to the provinces facilitate distribution of power between Mussulmans and Christians in a way acceptable to the Porte? I go to Pesth this evening, and hope to see Count Andrassy to-morrow.

No. 265.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 10, 5 P.M.)

Rome, December 10, 1876, 1·30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

AM I to acquaint Minister for Foreign Affairs with Lord Salisbury's information, and inquire the views of the Italian Government?

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[a] Inclosure in No. 192.

No. 266.

Mr. Corbett to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 10, 7 P.M.)

Berne, December 10, 1876, 4·15 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

REPORT current that enrolments are being made by British Government near Swiss frontier. Applications to Legation have recommenced. Is report true?

No. 267.

Consul Richetts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 10.)

Tiflis, December 10, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

FIVE thousand men arrived in Caucasus since 1st; also much ammunition. Reinforcement expected. Force on frontier said to be 40,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry, 2 batteries. At Tiflis 9,000 infantry, 6 batteries.

No. 268.

Vice-Consul Biliotti to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 11.)

Trebizond, November 29, 1876.

(No. 25. Political.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that the Imperial Ottoman corvette "Esseri Djed'd" arrived here ten days ago with Ferik Hussein Pasha (General of Division), as well as cannon and ammunition on board for Erzeroom and Batoom, but that, owing to bad weather, the landing of the cargo has been completed only yesterday. It consisted of twenty cannons (six of which field pieces) and 5,000 cases of ammunition, cartridges, &c.

Postal steamers have also brought here since the date of my last report on the subject (14th September) 4 mortars, 20 field and 7 large ordnance pieces. These, together with 3,150 cases of ammunition and large quantities of shots and shells, arrived at different periods, have, with the exception of a cannon which rolled down in a deep gorge, safely reached Erzeroom, in spite of the difficulties of the road. Another batch of 3,000 cases, which arrived about a fortnight ago on board a Government transport, and which were dispatched immediately to Erzeroom, are now, I understand, buried under several feet of snow at Kop Dagh, not far from that town, but are likely to be recovered soon.

The cannons landed from the "Esseri Djed'd" are to be drawn by horses, and each accompanied by a squad of twenty gunners; but no attempt is made to forward now two heavy pieces (5 tons each) which are amongst them; their conveyance is considered impracticable.

It also remains to be seen whether the condition of the road, which, I am told, has become in some spots near Trebizond impracticable since the last heavy rains, will allow even of the lighter artillery and ammunition which are about to start to be conveyed to their destination.

It may be that this time again, by indescribable exertions, the material in question may be carried to Erzeroom; but if the road is not repaired throughout without delay, it will become too bad even for Turkish endurance, and perhaps so at a moment when its usefulness will be of more importance than ever.

I know from the Engineer of the Province that as much as two yards of loose soil have accumulated in some spots, and that the total expense to put the road in good order does not exceed 400*l*. It is difficult to understand that, for so paltry a sum, the only means of communication with Erzeroom should have been neglected so long. The Pasha, with whom I have spoken again lately on the subject, assures me that he has adopted the necessary measures to execute the required repairs. It is to be hoped that the work, which has been already begun, will be carried on with energy and completed before long.

The "Esseri Djed'd" has left to-day for Batoom, to land a heavy cannon and 3,000 cases of ammunition. Hussein Pasha will start for Erzeroom on his return from that port.

A fortnight ago, two Ottoman transports carried to the same place large quantities of ammunition, shots, and shells.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED BILIOTTI.

No. 269.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 852. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 2, 1876.*

I WAS surprised at finding from Lord Augustus Loftus' despatch No. 519, Confidential, of the 4th ultimo, that Prince Gortchakow appears to have stated to him that the Russian Government, in proposing to that of Austria-Hungary the occupation of the northern Provinces of Turkey by their respective troops, had intended that Bosnia alone should be occupied by Austria, and that the Herzegovina should remain a neutral zone between the two armies, in order to prevent the possibility of any collision between them.

In a conversation which I had the honour of holding with the Emperor, subsequently to the publication of Lord Augustus Loftus' despatch, His Majesty said it appeared extraordinary that Prince Gortchakow should have so little acquaintance with the geography of the countries respecting which he was making serious proposals to another Government; but I have had no opportunity of speaking to Count Andrassy upon the statement reported by Lord Augustus Loftus until yesterday, when I asked his Excellency what he thought Prince Gortchakow could have meant by it.

His Excellency said that, as the Russian proposal had been declined *in limine*, it may possibly have been intended to restrict the Austrian occupation to Bosnia, though he had not so understood it,—but that Prince Gortchakow had only to look at a map to perceive that the Herzegovina could not have formed a neutral zone between the Austrian and Russian armies.

I suggested that Prince Gortchakow may have thought that the Province might be left to the Prince of Montenegro, whose troops at the time occupied a part of it.

If, however, this were so, Prince Gortchakow may possibly have foreseen that the occupations which he proposed were not unlikely to terminate in territorial advantages to the Governments by which they were to be carried out.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 270.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 853. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 3, 1876.*

A PERSON calling himself a Hanoverian subject, left yesterday at the Embassy a paper of which I inclose a translation by Mr. Charlton, which professes to give the secret plans of Russia in the event of war with Turkey.

The person, who refused to give his name or address, declared that he had been in the employment of the Russian Court, and had altogether spent twenty-three years in Russia and Wallachia.

The Austrian Government are probably as well informed on the points of which it treats as the writer,—but I have, nevertheless, given the original to Count Andrassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 270.

Paper communicated to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Translation.)

FROM all we can gather in Russia and Servia it seems certain that the former intends to press her proposals upon the Porte by force of arms in the event of their rejection.

Should this occur Russia intends to cross over the Pruth, and to take possession of Moldavia and Wallachia or Roumania, in order to defend herself with the least possible delay against the attack of Austria-Hungary, which is the only country able to arrest her progress at the outset.

Austria should anticipate the advance of Russia with promptness and determination, as her very existence depends upon it. The Czar pledges his sacred word that he has no wish to acquire Constantinople. I do not doubt him; the step would be inexpedient. Nevertheless the Czar has great need of Wallachia and Moldavia in order to carry out his plans, and as a protection against Austria, and here lies the main point to which I wish to call the attention of Austria before Russia comes on with her secret plans, which consist in occupying, immediately on her entry into Moldavia and Wallachia, the mountain passes which connect them with Austria-Hungary, and in constructing works of defence in these narrow passes, in order to render impossible any passage through them from the Austrian side. I am convinced that the corps which is at present being formed in Servia, and which includes among its numbers Russian soldiers and engineers, has this Russian object in view.

As soon as the Russian army crosses over the Pruth this corps will pass over the Danube at Kladowa, where preparations for pontoon bridges from the Roumanian side are in readiness, and will occupy the narrow pass on the Roumanian frontier at Verecsorova. On the right of the road is the Danube, and on the left, like a gigantic wall, surrounding Moldavia and Wallachia, is the lofty mountain range of the Carpathians, with its narrow passes connecting the two with Austria. These passes are:—Das eiserne Thor, Wulkan Pass, Rothenthurn Pass, Törzberg Pass, Tomös Pass, Bodza Pass, and, towards Moldavia, Oglos Pass, Gyömes Pass, Tölyes Pass, Borgo Pass. With these passes in a state of defence Russia would be free to mature her plans without fear of obstruction on the part of Austria. Austria would then have the choice of two alternatives—either to penetrate into Moldavia through Bukowina, which would be very difficult, with the Carpathians on the right, and the Russians on the north and left to close the way, or to enter Russian territory, which would compel the Russians to retire from Roumania.

The Czar pledges his sacred word that he does not intend to take Constantinople; he only means to occupy Bulgaria as a guarantee for the execution of the demands he puts forward on behalf of his co-religionists. The Guaranteeing Powers are opposed to this. But if once Russia occupies Wallachia, and is able to defend those narrow passes in the Carpathians which connect Austria and Roumania, then she can say, "Good; as you will not let me cross the Danube into Bulgaria, I shall remain here in Roumania, on the Bulgarian and Servian frontier side." Russia is free to press her protection upon her co-religionists whether they want it or not. She will place a Russian Prince on the Servian Throne. As for Roumania, little remains to be said. It will remain in Russian hands, and as soon as she has it in a state of defence, and is well organized, Russia will one day march across the Danube at Kladowa, occupy Servia with the connivance of the Servians, and extend herself without opposition, some day or other, towards Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, to the Adriatic Sea, and all under the pretext of protecting her co-religionists.

Once Russia gets these Slav countries in her grasp she will slowly advance against Bulgaria, and take one fort on the Danube after another.

Russia has time enough before her. Did she not maintain the struggle for thirty years in the Caucasus before she fully established her power? Why then should she not risk thirty years for such an important conquest as Constantinople, however strongly it may be defended? With the help of all the Oriental Slavs she will no doubt succeed in obtaining possession of Constantinople, in spite of everything Europe may do to prevent it.

In this way alone can Russia possibly take possession of Constantinople. All the principal landing places upon Russian soil upon the Black Sea towards the Danube are being fortified, in order to be secure from that side. Upon the Asiatic side the Caucasus offers defence, so that Russia, as soon as she has fortified the iron gates and the passes of Siebenbürgen, will be in a position too to descend upon Roumania.

Roumania is a rich country, and possesses provisions enough to maintain a Russian army. It is therefore my duty to call attention to the importance of taking possession without delay of the passes into Wallachia and Moldavia, and of fortifying them to their very entrance into Moldavia and Wallachia, in order that Austria-Hungary may always be able to march through to defend her main artery—the Danube. And her power to do this would work in the interests of peace, and nullify all the plans of Russia.

No. 271.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 856.)
Vienna, December 7, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General Tchernaieff, who arrived here a few days ago, has taken his departure for Kishenew, where, as he stated to a deputation which waited upon him here, he has been summoned to be consulted upon the future conduct of operations in Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 272.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 859. Confidential.)
Vienna, December 7, 1876.

My Lord,

IN a private letter which I have received from Major Gonne dated the 3rd instant from Belgrade, he states that the Commission would probably leave yesterday for the Drina, to meet two representatives of the Bosnian insurgents at Bielina, with a view to establish, if possible, a line of demarcation between any country held by them and the Turkish troops.

He states that the Russians of the regular army have left Servia, and that the rest will be formed into a separate division, who, together with the few Servians still willing to remain in arms, probably from 15,000 to 20,000 bad troops, will help to keep a fraction of the Turks in the Principality. He says the Turks are quietly sending their troops to the Danube, but will leave a small force at Zaitchar and Alexinatz. He understands that General Tchernaieff will not return.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 273.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 11.)

(No. 860.)
Vienna, December 8, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, to your Lordship, the inclosed despatches which have been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 273.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Belgrade, December 2, 1876.

Sir,

I HAD the honour of transmitting to you the fact that a line of demarcation had been satisfactorily arranged between the Turks and Servians from the Danube to the Morava Valley. I now inclose a trace of the neutral zone; between the Morava and Timok, the political frontier has been declared the line of separation with the exception of one village (Salne) on Turkish territory, where for special reasons the

Servians are permitted to protect the Christian population. This exception has been made the subject of a communication to the Ambassadors at Constantinople. It may probably be necessary to establish a neutral zone even on the frontier line hereafter, and this will be done in case of need.

The "trace" applied to the Austrian staff map will show that the Turks retain Alexinatz, and the heights which dominate Deligrad from the left bank; but the Morava is neutral, and no bridging can take place till the end of the armistice, viz., the last day of the year.[a] The Servians have claimed the right of watering horses in the Morava. This cannot be necessary, but will probably be granted when the Commission next deliberates.

Major-General Kemball reinstated me on the Commission when the Delegates left Alexinatz.

In the General's opinion the Turks had lost but one point of importance by the "zone," *i.e.*, Subotivac, a fine position commanding the point where the Banja road debouches near Bovan, but the Turks hold ground commanding their relinquished post and can reoccupy at the end of the armistice, and it was impossible with justice to drive the Servians from the bridge of Bovan. The Turks were more than satisfied, and the Servians have reason to be so.

The Servian Government caused Colonel Lischanin to claim the town of Alexinatz on the plea that the date of the Russian ultimatum ought to fix the relative position of the armies; but the wording of the "identical instructions" prevented any complication.

The Commission will take the first steamer to the Drina, and will perform its duties from Belina, where two insurgent Chiefs are ordered to present themselves in order to talk over the Bosnian question. It must not be imagined that a conversation between two Chiefs and the Delegates can insure order in a province which has taken up arms against the ruling Power, but it is the wish of the Diplomatic Corps at Constantinople that the Military Commission should try to effect what the Consuls have failed in.

The Russian Consul in those parts, and the Russian Delegate, would have preferred that one Colonel Despotovic, a Servian once in the Russian army, and now in command of a band of insurgents, should answer for the whole of Bosnia; this counter proposition exposes the difficulty of the situation. It is difficult to understand how military representatives of order, can treat with insurgents who are not in the field, but who leave their houses, or lurking places, to destroy property when the Ottoman troops are distant, and melt away when an armed force is organized to inflict punishment. The Russian argument is, that Despotovic commands the only force which retains an integral form; but clearly this foreigner cannot bind down Bosnia by a contract. It follows, therefore, that too much must not be expected from the efforts of the Commission I have the honour to belong to. The Porte is in the act of concentrating her soldiers, and the Slav societies will doubtless send their agents to keep up insurrection in distant parts of Turkish territory. If the Commission had the power to threaten the case would be otherwise.

The immediate work in hand is the line near Novi Bazaar. Some kind of Convention exists between the opposing forces, and it may be possible to mark a line without visiting the spot. I also to-day took an initiative in procuring an exchange of prisoners; both sides express a wish that the exchange may take place at once.

The distress throughout Servia probably is in excess of what can be imagined. In the valley of the Morava alone, it is supposed that 32,000 people are without shelter. At Parachin, on the Cuprin road, Dr. Siemon and a Mr. Sinclair were distributing food and clothing with good effect. A Russian society is sending aid in the same direction, and Dr. Siemon will move to Krusevac. The funds of this society are obtained from Manchester.

In Belgrade I have visited the Hospital of the Protestant branch of the "Knights of Malta." The Knights have withdrawn their support, but possibly the Catholic branch may supply the funds, say 300*l.*, to finish the good work; if not, this admirable institution and the valuable plant will fall into the hands of the Servian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE,
Major, 17th Lancers.

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[a] January 1, at midnight.

Inclosure 2 in No. 273.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Belgrade, December 2, 1876.

Sir,

HAVING observed the Servians and the Turks before the campaign, and having visited the theatre of war and inspected the armies since the issue, I feel bound to state my opinion, which is decidedly adverse to Ottoman credit.

I reported on the Servian standing army, and what I could see of the militia, in June, and there was nothing to admire. My impression was that the Turks were men of a far superior physique, and that peasants taken from the plough and imperfectly armed, utterly deficient in military training, and, above all things unused to rifle-practice, would make no stand against a warlike nation with a semblance of organization and a modern armament.

The fact is that the Servians have made a very good stand, and as the third class of Redifs* is to be seen at this moment in the Morava valley, it must be supposed that the Turks strained every nerve to gain a victory which might not have been of vital importance, had the Russian element not thoroughly demoralized the unskilled but devoted Servians.

Yet I declare the Turkish army to be composed of men superior in physique to those of any European army, save and except *corps d'élite*. I find this army perfectly armed, and very fairly equipped as regards its infantry and artillery. I hear that Turks require little or no intendance, and the courage of the soldiers is beyond all question.

Why then have months been spent in dislodging armed peasants from imperfectly constructed earthworks?

The answer to this question is that Turkish organization exists only on paper—the most utter disorder reigns—the officers† as a rule are worse than incompetent, and an important branch, the Engineers, seem to have lost their value in Turkish eyes.

I have conversed with Servians and Turks, and neither can account for the small result gained by a profusion of means.

The Turks after the first few days took the offensive, yet they never gained a small advantage without entrenching the ground they never ought to have halted even on.

This is according to their traditions, but it proves that they have made no progress, and the moment has arrived when this fact should be well understood by any Power whose policy may demand a Turkish alliance. To imagine that the officers who have commanded in the Servian war are capable of meeting an army like that of Russia with the slightest chance of success, is madness.

The private soldier behind old battlements or new earthworks, will do his part as well as ever, and therefore Russia cannot expect to cross the Danube and the Balkans without loss of life. The habit of entrenchment, too, will tell in the Ottoman's favour in a retreat,—but let no one for a moment suppose that a Russian and a Turkish army of equal numbers will meet on equal terms,—the latter will be handled without skill.

I do not even think that a skilled corps d'armée as an *appui* to Turkish corps would avail much, for the absence of skill begins with the Pasha and extends to the subaltern, whilst jealousy and obstinacy is, as usual, the characteristic of Turkish ignorance.

The Servians were marched to the slaughter against their will, and their only strength lay in the art of entrenchment; the country labourers throwing up works to cover a numerous, and, at a short range, an effective artillery. When Russians arrived and usurped commands from the battalion to the brigade, the mock troops were induced to depart from a cautious strategy, and continued defeat brought about demoralization.

The town and positions of Saitschar‡ were surrendered in the first instance without sufficient cause, and twice Alexinatz was abandoned without an attack. It often happened, I am informed by Servian officers, that at a moment when the Servians received orders to retreat, the Turks were found executing a manœuvre of like precaution.

* One battalion on the march near Alexinatz covered six miles of road; in the ranks were men of seventy and lads of seventeen.

† As far as the rank of captain the officer and soldier seem on nearly equal terms. Field rank alone gives an officer a distinctive social position. The non-commissioned officers seem very good, and doubtless do all the work.

‡ The Servians assert that they protested against Tchernaieff's orders on these occasions, and that when Alexinatz was finally evacuated, the Commander-in-chief also ordered a retreat from Deligrad, but in this his order was disobeyed.

History will not style Tchernaieff a great general, his great mistake in principle was detaching for the purpose of flank attacks when his army was only equal in numbers to his enemy. Colonel Horvatovic was the "Stonewall Jackson" of the campaign, but this officer never commanded a sufficient force to strike with effect, and, on Servian authority, I can state that not less than forty Servians fell by the hand of their now popular commanding officer; and thus only the flying column was kept together.

From what I can gather it has not been the fault of the Servians that the Turks have made so poor a display.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE,
Major, 17th Lancers.

No. 274.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 11.)

(No. 537. Most Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, December* 6, 1876.

WELL-INFORMED critics think that the newspapers attach too much importance to Prince Bismarck's table-talk, while his guests give very different versions of what they individually understood him to say.

Be that as it may, the speech Prince Bismarck made yesterday in the Reichstag, of which a French translation is herewith inclosed, has set aside and superseded every other private utterance attributed to him by the press on the Eastern question, and the public are in possession of an authentic declaration of the German Chancellor's policy, which is sure to be well received in Germany.

Her Majesty's Government have been acquainted with Prince Bismarck's views since January last, and he has said nothing new on the present occasion, although he has not said all, and, indeed, he declares plainly in the last sentence of his speech that he must reserve his opinion for the present as to a future settlement of the Eastern question, if the Powers should fail to localize the war between Turkey and Russia.

What he thinks, but did not say, is, that the Porte cannot guarantee that the improved *status quo* the Powers demand will be lasting or peaceful, but that, on the contrary, the Powers, to guarantee the existence of Turkish rule in Europe, will have to agree to prop up the crumbling edifice by territorial occupations, as the Catholic Powers guaranteed the existence of the Pope's temporal rule from 1849 to 1870 by occupying Ancona and Rome.

Ultimately he hopes that Austria will extend her protectorate along the Danube and over the Slav population of European Turkey, whilst England establishes her influence over Egypt and Syria, so that both Austria and England may have less to apprehend from the progress of Russia round the Black Sea.

To prevent the frequent recurrence of the Eastern question, and the danger to which it exposes the peace of Europe, the temporal power of the Sultans (like that of the Pope's) could be kept up for many years to come by a joint occupation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

These are the views Prince Bismarck is believed to hold by those who know him best, and which he will gradually bring forward, modified according to the requirements of the situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 275.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 11.)

(No. 539. Very Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, December* 6, 1876.

LAST night, dining at the Palace, the Emperor told me that he had good news from St. Petersburgh. The peace party, His Majesty said, were gaining strength, and supporting the Czar in his endeavours to solve the question in European Turkey peacefully, and

there was a feeling of dread at the reality of war and its horrors springing up in Russia, which was very satisfactory.

The Emperor then spoke of the pleasure he had derived from his conversation with the Marquis of Salisbury, and said that if a pacific solution were possible, his Lordship was sure to make it acceptable in Conference with the Guaranteeing Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 276.

Major-General Stanton to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 11.)

(No. 80.)
My Lord, *Munich, December* 9, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship the translation of an article by M. de Wickede on the war strength of Greece, which has been published in the "Augsburg Gazette," and which under existing circumstances may, I imagine, prove of interest to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure in No. 276.

Article in the "Augsburg Zeitung" of December 7, 1876.

(Translation.)

THE WAR STRENGTH OF GREECE BY LAND AND SEA.—As Greece, regardless of her financial difficulties, is at the present moment arming with much energy, a short, clear, and unbiassed political and military narration of her forces by land and by sea, may be of interest to many a reader of this paper.

It is true that no reasonable person will be able to conceive the reason of this outburst of warlike spirit on the part of the Greeks, and the reason why King George contemplates a declaration of war against the Sultan.

Nevertheless this artificial madness for war exists, and if, in the eleventh hour, there should be no counter-orders from St. Petersburgh, we may be prepared for a tissue of superficial, untrue, and hollow phrases, resulting by supreme Pan-Slavonic orders in a declaration of war against the Porte, similarly to the unfortunate declaration of Prince Milan last June.

It would seem as if the whole of the South Slav tribes had been suddenly frenzied by this fury for war, and that whilst wide acres of land remain untilled, industry and trade neglected, education and disordered finances not cared for, war is the constant cry, and war, moreover, against the Turks, who for the last ten years have left them unmolested.

Instead of being charitable to their neighbours, they only dream of invasions and destruction, yet they do not know their own minds, nor what lies in store for them in the event of the defeat of the Turks and the downfall of the Turkish Empire.

What special benefits Greece would gain by the addition of certain districts in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Albania, as a reward for hard-fought battles, bloodshed, and other sacrifices, no reasonable person will easily conceive.

Within the boundaries of this small kingdom hundreds of square miles of land remain untilled, and waiting in vain for willing hands to develop and reinstate to the prosperity of ancient Greece.

Furthermore, it cannot be concealed that the impotency of the Government at Athens is reflected in the border provinces by a want of power and scant respect, resulting in constant anarchy in these provinces amongst the wilde hordes of Klephten.

In the event of a war between Greece and Turkey, the result, whether victorious or disastrous to Greece, could only, if possible, deteriorate the present anarchical state of the border provinces.

Nevertheless the Pan-Slavonic Committee at Moscow gives orders which at Athens there is now the same spirit of anxiety to obey as there was at Belgrade, and King George seems willing to play the part of a hero, just as Prince Milan has done in so tragi-comical a manner. In truth the theory of Fallmorayer, the celebrated writer, is being borne out, that the present generation of Greeks have more Panslavonic blood in their veins than they would have were they the lineal descendants of the old Hellenes. Besides, how is it

possible for true Greeks to evince this great interest in Panslavonic matters, and to be hurled into a foolhardy war, presumably for the purpose of freedom to the South Slavs that inhabit the Turkish provinces.

The Greek army cannot, either numerically or in its composition, be considered a dangerous antagonist; indeed, King George's army does not even equal the Servian army, which latter, Russian assistance notwithstanding, cannot as yet boast of any real successes in the field.

The constant internal dissentions in the affairs of Greece for the last forty years, and the occasional revolutions, have marred the prosperity of the country and undermined the strength of the army. Instead of officers of all grades doing their duty, they have, like the Spaniards, had a hankering for political intrigues, and in the coffee-houses frequented by them have joined every imaginable conspiracy. Thus the drill-ground and barracks have been neglected, and privates have followed the bad example of their seniors, yet it cannot be denied that the Greeks have many sterling qualities, both physical and moral. They are active and expert, enduring on the march, uncommonly frugal; they have fine supple limbs, peculiarly adapted for gymnastic exercises, and they would easily make capital riflemen.

Whether bravery can be looked upon as one of the attributes of the modern Hellenes is doubtful; they are certainly far inferior in valour to the Turkish troops, who may be classed amongst the bravest and most enduring soldiers in the world. In the last great war of independence, fought in the twentieth year of the present century, there were Greek regiments that fought with the utmost valour, and officers who greatly distinguished themselves, yet, on many an occasion, whole regiments were seized with terror and fled on encountering weaker bodies of Turkish troops.

Warfare carried on by means of stealthily planned ambuscades and cunning surprises seems more consistent with the Greek character than battles in the open. Their relatives the Servians have latterly proved this to be the case.

A wish to intrigue, a want of discipline, no mutual reliance on promises given, and universal distrust are, generally speaking, the characteristics of the Greek nation, which significantly tends to lower the morale of the army.

This love of intrigue pervades all ranks, from the highest officer to the lowest private, and amongst them party strifes are constantly being carried on.

As the Minister of War is changed according to the political colour of the party in office, and these changes are not infrequent, there are likewise constant alterations in the army system.

Innovations are suggested and approved of, but almost as soon put aside for fresh amendments, which at best are merely tested.

Hence, no lasting benefit is to be derived by this inefficiency in army reforms, and the result of this state of transition is most injurious to an army, and cannot in the long run fail to ruin it completely.

The War Minister selects officers who belong politically to the party in office; and instead of promoting older officers, whose services would entitle them to promotion, they are either pensioned off or superseded by their juniors, to whose politics greater regard is paid than to their military qualifications.

Consequently, the Greek army, like the armies of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, has an uncommonly large number of staff officers at its disposal who increase the Army Budget quite needlessly, and whose only occupation is to intrigue against the party in office, thereby attempting to secure a place under the next incoming Ministry.

The constant disorganization in the Greek finances (they are in a state of chronic bankruptcy) has contributed, as was to be expected, to the inefficiency of the army. There are many statements on paper which are purely mythical.

According to the last amended plan of army organization, which, however, was never perfectly put into operation, the Greek army is said to be composed of regular and irregular troops. The regular troops are said to be composed of 10 battalions of infantry, which, on a war footing, amount to 400 officers and 10,000 privates, and in times of peace, according to the Budget, to 280 officers and 6,900 men; but, according to the opinion of clever foreign officers who have travelled over Greece latterly, the above estimate of the army in times of peace falls very short of the forces actually under arms.

The statement of a most trustworthy authority assures us that, throughout the greater part of the year, the actual strength of a Greek battalion is 300 men under arms; and that, owing to the number of men away on furlough for a variety of reasons, mainly, though, that economy may be practised, the number of officers and non-commissioned officers is almost as great as that of the men.

Owing to the antipathy, since 1864, for everything German, the equipment, uniforms,

and arms of the troops were then modelled according to French arrangements, although, since 1871, they have unavoidably returned to the German system.

The regular troops are armed with breechloaders.

The appearance of the men does not belie what we have already stated as regards their physique and general aptitude, although, from a German point of view, their carriage and cleanliness would not always pass muster.

There seems no doubt that King George would be able to place 10,000 regular infantry under arms, but this amount could not be increased without seriously prejudicing these troops.

The mountainous regions of Greece being unfit for cavalry purposes, this branch of the service is limited to a single regiment of lancers, composed in peace of 23 officers and 400 privates, and increased on a war footing from 600 to 700 men.

This regiment is in garrison at Athens, and is used for escort duty to the Royal Family and such like purposes. The men look well, although as a rule the Greeks are bad riders.

The artillery is principally drawn by mules. In times of peace there are five batteries, with 26 officers and 400 men, but if on a war footing, provided the necessary funds are available, the amount is increased from eight to ten batteries. Artillery officers are generally educated in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, and the Greeks being martial-looking men, who go through their evolutions well, the appearance of the artillery is satisfactory and pleasing.

Pioneers and arsenal troops amount in times of peace from 200 to 300 men; furthermore there is a superfluous staff of 40 to 50 officers, whose head-quarters are the rendezvous of political intriguers and malcontents, and of officers unemployed, owing to political delinquencies.

Thus the regular army, which amounts in times of peace to 400 officers and 8,000 privates, attains, when placed on a war footing, 15,000 men; but it remains to be seen whether there will be sufficient available money for the equipment of this number of troops. True, Russia might be inclined to lend a helping hand; no more than fair, considering the ambitious views which Russia has made contagious amongst the Greeks.

Besides the regular troops, there are the so-called "irregulars;" these are principally infantry, but there are a few detachments of cavalry, all of them undisciplined and indifferently equipped. These "irregulars" are wild, raw troops, akin in their ruffianism to the Bashi-Bazouks and Albanians. According to Greek statistics (there is not much credence to be placed in them), there are 18,000 irregular troops, but whether this number could really be called to arms is doubtful.

It is undeniable that these Palicars and Klephten, who in times of peace commit the greatest atrocities, and frequently wage war against the regular troops, would prove valuable auxiliaries in war by rendering the services required of light troops, if judiciously led by their chiefs in the hope of booty, and their Orthodox Greek-Catholic fanaticism were appealed to as an incentive against the Turks, whom they loath.

But a war between the Greek Klephten and Turkish Albanians would be a catastrophe woful beyond measure, neither of these races having an idea of what is due to humanity and civilization. Not only would a declaration of war by Greece à la Servie behoof a holy cause, and in the interest of civilization against the perpetration of Turkish barbarities be preposterous, but also a barefaced infamous falsehood.

In the larger Greek towns so-called National Guards are to be found; they have often played important parts in political matters, but they would be quite useless in actual warfare. It is true the number of these guards is to be considerably increased, and it is hoped that 60,000 to 70,000 will be placed under arms.

The Greek fleet has never been properly equipped, owing to a want of money. It is composed of an old frigate of 50 guns, 2 corvettes, 6 or 7 small steamships of 16 to 20 guns, and various gun-boats, despatch-boats, and smaller craft. Besides these there is the large ironclad, the "Olga and George," which, if we are not wrong, is now ready for sea.

As the Greeks are acknowledged to be the best and bravest sailors in the Mediterranean, and there are about 30,000 sailors who belong to Greek merchantmen, the fleet would be easily manned, and their services against Turkey would prove invaluable.

Consequently, should the Panslavonic party in Russia really succeed in associating Greece in a war calculated to annihilate the Sublime Porte, the help of King George's army will necessitate a certain massing of Turkish troops in the border provinces in order to check an encroachment into Turkish territory by these regular and irregular troops.

The whole war would lead to no other end for Greece than simply countenancing

Russian ambition and abetting the Panslavonic cause; in fact, fetching the chesnuts out of the fire, like the poor besotted Servians are now doing.

The National Guards, who have never been known to be of the slightest use in the battle-field, but who, like the militia of Servia, would no doubt sustain heavy losses, will be more to be pitied in the event of war than the other troops.

No. 277.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 19.) *Foreign Office, December* 11, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held in your conversations with Count Andrassy on the 24th and 26th ultimo, respecting the position of the Eastern Question, as reported in your despatch No. 5 of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 278.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 20.) *Foreign Office, December* 11, 1876.

My Lord,

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which your Excellency held in your conversation with the Emperor of Austria on the 25th ultimo, as reported in your despatch No. 6 of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 279.

The Earl of Derby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

(No. 21.) *Foreign Office, December* 11, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 7 of the 30th ultimo, reporting your conversation with Signor Melegari on the subject of the present state of affairs in the East, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 280.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December* 11, 1876.

(Confidential.)

I HAVE had conversation with Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day respecting General Ignatiew's proposals. He considers that their adoption would be the first step towards the decomposition of Turkey without affording even the probability of a short respite from the anxiety at present prevailing as to the future. Besides, the geographical partiality of the scheme is not only seriously Muscovite on account of this, but also because it is directed against the future independence and development of Greek population, and is merely intended to promote Panslavist and Russian interests. Dividing the Mussulmans and the Christians into separate cantons could only be effected by force and by violating the rightful property, and shutting up the Turkish garrisons in fortresses would increase the animosity of the Turks and Christians. As to the employment of a foreign force, he would, I think, object to Italians, but while he inclines

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6,000 men insufficient for the purpose proposed, he asks who is to pay their expenses or those of a larger one.

The whole scheme, in his opinion, goes too far, as an attempt to create out of Eastern elements a perfect system of administration on a European model must end in failure, whereas a more modest plan, accepting what exists and merely reforming abuses and providing for the protection of the Christians and securing them equal rights with the Mussulmans, but leaving the Central Power sufficient authority to maintain order, would gradually bring about the civilization of the country.

He appears to have been informed that Lord Salisbury looks favourably on General Ignatiew's plans, but I assured him that as yet his Lordship had given no reason to hope that they would meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Government. He said that he was glad to hear this, as everything would depend on their decision, for though he is prepared to support them in resisting proposals prejudicial to the stability of the Turkish Empire, he could not oppose measures which they, in concert with Russia and Germany, might consider necessary to promote prosperity of the Christians.

He had hoped, however, that the Porte was to be allowed to make its own arrangements with Montenegro for rectifying their frontiers without the question being brought before the Conference which would have interfered eventually, if necessary. But this being a matter of detail, he does not attach much importance to it, whereas he trusts that Her Majesty's Government agree with him that General Ignatiew's scheme is pregnant with danger and will lead to new complications in the distant future.

No. 281.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 12.*)

Constantinople, le 29 Novembre, 1876.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

POUR faire suite à ma dépêche Circulaire du 22 Novembre, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-joint, pour votre information personnelle, copie d'un rapport de notre Ministre à Athènes concernant les armements de la Grèce et l'émission projetée d'un emprunt national de 40,000,000 francs, destiné aux préparatifs de guerre.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 281.

Photiades Bey to Safvet Pasha.

Athènes, le 10 Octobre, 1876.

AINSI que j'ai eu l'honneur de le faire pressentir à votre Excellence dans mon rapport du 4 courant, l'exemple de la réunion populaire d'Athènes du 1er de ce mois a été suivi de près par les principales villes du Royaume Hellénique. En effet, par les télégrammes qui en sont venus depuis, on a appris qu'il y a eu dans presque toutes les villes importantes de la Grèce des réunions de ce genre, lesquelles, inspirées par le même esprit que celles d'Athènes, ont abouti au même résultat. Elles n'ont fait qu'adhérer aux décisions prises par la population d'Athènes en insistant sur la nécessité absolue de pourvoir immédiatement à l'armement de la nation afin que celle-ci soit en mesure de défendre les intérêts de l'Hellénisme, essentiellement menacés par les faveurs exceptionnelles que les Puissances s'efforcent d'accorder aux provinces Slaves de la Turquie d'Europe.

Ce qui effraie au plus haut point les Hellènes, c'est que la Bulgarie, ne représentant pas une expression géographique bien définie, mais étant arbitrairement délimitée par les Slaves de façon à comprendre une grande partie de la Thrace, de la Macédoine et de la Thessalie même, ne devienne, une fois fortement constituée sous le régime autonome, une menace permanente pour la Grèce, et ne rende, ainsi, à jamais impossible la réalisation des aspirations Hellènes, bien connues de tout le monde.

Sous l'empire donc de cette crainte, on se propose de demander à la Chambre des Députés l'émission d'un emprunt national de 40,000,000 francs pour être consacré aux préparatifs de guerre. Cet emprunt sera garanti par de nouveaux

impôts que le pays, dans l'effervescence actuelle des esprits, semble disposé à supporter. Mais, connaissant bien les ressources du Royaume et l'état de son crédit en Europe, je doute qu'un emprunt aussi considérable puisse se réaliser, soit dans l'intérieur de la Grèce soit hors du pays. La surexcitation d'aujourd'hui provenant du fantôme d'une Bulgarie grande et puissante qui se dresse devant les Hellènes disparaîtra, j'en suis certain, avec le fantôme lui-même, et la réaction ne tardera pas à se produire.

Veuillez, &c.

No. 282.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 12.*)

Constantinople, le 30 Novembre, 1876.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

SON Excellence le Général Ignatiew m'a donné lecture et laissé copie d'une dépêche Circulaire de son Altesse le Prince Gortchakow en date du 15 de ce mois, et que je vous communique ci-près.

J'ai à peine besoin de dire que cette communication a produit sur la Sublime Porte une impression des plus pénibles. Nous comprenons que le Prince Chancelier ait éprouvé le besoin de justifier aux yeux de l'Europe les armements de la Russie et la mobilisation d'une partie de l'armée Russe; mais ce que nous ne pouvons pas aussi facilement nous expliquer, c'est que son Altesse s'applique à faire retomber sur nous la responsabilité tout entière de la situation.

Il ne saurait entrer dans mon intention de m'engager dans la voie des récriminations en relevant une à une les assertions de son Altesse le Prince Chancelier. Je me bornerai à relever ce fait que, si l'administration du Gouvernement Ottoman eût été aussi incorrigible qu'on cherche à le faire croire, l'Empire se serait trouvé aux prises avec une insurrection permanente, tandis qu'en jetant les yeux sur la période de vingt années qui s'est écoulée depuis la paix de Paris, on ne trouve à signaler qu'un très petit nombre de mouvements insurrectionnels dont les mobiles et le caractère spécial sont trop connus pour que j'aie besoin d'insister ici même pour faire voir qu'ils ne sauraient nullement servir de confirmation aux assertions de la Circulaire de son Altesse.

Personne n'ignore aussi ce qu'était à l'origine cette lutte devenue si sanglante et dont parle le Prince Gortchakow. Les événements qui se sont déroulés depuis et dont je crois superflu de faire ici l'historique sont encore présents à la mémoire de tout le monde.

Obligé de recourir à la force pour rétablir l'ordre public profondément troublé par des conspirations criminelles, pour accorder à ses sujets paisibles menacés dans leur existence et dans leurs foyers la protection qui leur était due, pour repousser des attaques à main armée que rien ne justifiait, le Gouvernement Ottoman ne pouvait, à moins de laisser l'Empire à la merci des agitateurs, que recourir aux moyens légaux dont il disposait pour se mettre en état de légitime défense. Il est naturel que les désordres qu'on a cherché à provoquer, et auxquels les passions révolutionnaires se sont efforcées de donner dès le principe le caractère d'une lutte de race et de religion, n'aient pu être réprimés sans de douloureux sacrifices. Aussitôt pourtant que l'ordre a été matériellement établi, le premier soin du Gouvernement a consisté à réparer dans la mesure du possible les effets immédiats de ces événements, à subvenir aux besoins des populations que l'on avait réduits à la misère pour se faire une arme de leur désespoir, à accorder de larges amnisties à ses sujets égarés et enfin à accomplir l'œuvre de la justice. Ainsi donc, pénétrés de la conviction d'avoir strictement rempli notre devoir, nous reposons avec toute la force de notre conscience la responsabilité du sang versé. Toujours et partout, nous avons épuisé tous les moyens de conciliation avant d'arriver à des extrémités fâcheuses, et nous pouvons ajouter sans crainte d'être démentis que nous avons constamment donné à l'Europe des preuves manifestes de notre désir sincère de voir se rétablir la paix.

Tout dernièrement encore, en signant un armistice pur et simple de deux mois, et en acceptant la proposition de la Conférence, nous avons donné un nouveau gage de notre désir d'arriver à la solution pacifique des difficultés du jour.

Ces circonstances sont si bien connues qu'on ne saurait, croyons-nous, imputer à crime au Gouvernement de n'avoir pas abdiqué-sur-le-champ, et en se dérobant à tous

ses devoirs, entre les mains de la révolution; le principe d'autorité qui leur était confié et qu'il était tenu de défendre.

Le Gouvernement Impérial de Russie assure toute l'Europe qu'il n'a d'autre but en Orient que d'y voir l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes. En pareil cas, l'inutilité des armements extraordinaires que la Circulaire du Prince Gortchakow est destinée à justifier devient évidente. Plus que toute autre Puissance, la Sublime Porte est animée du désir exprimé au nom de la Russie par son Altesse, et c'est précisément à l'accomplissement de cette œuvre qu'elle ne demande pas mieux que de consacrer ses soins et toute sa sollicitude. La Turquie, avant de pouvoir au but de ses efforts, et d'aplanir les obstacles de toute nature qui s'opposaient à chacun de ses pas en avant dans la voie du progrès, a eu à traverser une période qui n'a été marquée, il faut bien le reconnaître, que par une succession non-interrompue d'événements malheureux et de circonstances dont elle a eu à subir la mauvaise influence.

Néanmoins, et en dépit de toutes les causes qui se sont liguées contre l'accomplissement de ses destinées, elle est graduellement arrivée et sans subir aucune de ces profondes commotions politiques qui ont marqué de sang l'histoire des plus grandes nations de l'Europe, à atteindre la limite où la transformation de ses institutions doit naturellement s'accomplir, et lui créer une existence nouvelle.

Le Gouvernement Impérial n'a rien de plus à cœur que de donner au sentiment général une ample satisfaction, en élargissant de beaucoup le cercle des concessions qu'on avait eues en vue lors de la signature du Traité de Paris. Ces réformes que nous avons promises nous les exécuterons sans le moindre retard pour tout l'Empire, et nous sommes prêts à faire à cet égard tout ce qui dépend de nous.

Il nous est impossible de croire que tant d'efforts pour défendre les droits de notre Souverain et l'indépendance de l'Empire, consacrés par des actes internationaux, et tant de preuves solennelles de l'empressement du Gouvernement Impérial à répondre à l'attente légitime des Puissances amies, puissent être méconnus ou mal interprétés.

C'est dans cette conviction que je vous autorise, M. l'Ambassadeur, à donner lecture et à laisser copie de la présente dépêche à son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 282.

Circular addressed by Prince Gortchakow to Russian Representatives abroad, November 1/13, 1876.

[See Part VII, No. 369.]

No. 283.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 12.*)

(No. 566. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 25, 1876.*

GENERAL WERDER, the German Military Plenipotentiary at this Court, returned here a few days ago from Berlin, and was the bearer of a letter from the Emperor of Germany to the Emperor Alexander.

I learn from a confidential and reliable source, that the Imperial letter contained renewed assurances from the Emperor William of his moral support to Russia in regard to Eastern affairs; and promised that, in the event of war, Germany would adopt towards Russia the same attitude as that which Russia had taken towards Germany during the Franco-German war in 1870. At that time Russia based her neutrality on the condition of Austria remaining neutral, threatening Austria with hostilities in the event of her joining France.

This attitude of Germany may, therefore, be considered as imposing neutrality on Austria, in the event of Russia being engaged in war.

I am further told (but I cannot guarantee the authenticity of my information),

that Germany has likewise promised her active support to Russia in case of any movement taking place in Poland, whilst Russia should be engaged in a war with Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 284.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 12.*)

(No. 568.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 28, 1876.*

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 604 of the 22nd instant, I have communicated to the Russian Government the text of the correspondence between the Ameer of Cabul and General Kaufmann, as printed in the Cabul Diary, of which I received a copy in your Lordship's despatch No. 580 of the 15th instant, and I have the honour to annex a copy of my note to M. de Giers on this subject, inclosing a copy of the exact text which I communicated to his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 284.

Lord A. Loftus to M. de Giers.

St. Petersburgh, November 28, 1876.

M. le Sénateur,

IN conformity with the instructions of the Earl of Derby, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to inclose to your Excellency, for the information of the Imperial Government, the text of the correspondence between the Ameer of Cabul and General Kaufmann.

I profit of this opportunity to request your Excellency to favour me with a reply to the note which I had the honour to address to you on the 30th September/12th October last, and to renew, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 284.

Correspondence between the Ameer of Cabul and General Kaufmann.—(*Sent to the Russian Government with Lord A. Loftus' Note of November 28, 1876.*)

Abstract Translation of Murrasila, dated 7th Shaaban (August 27, 1876), from the Ameer to the Russian Governor-General.

YOUR murrasila dated Mohurram (February) anent Kokend matters, which you sent from Tashkand by hand of Mirza Abdul Karim Khan, reached me at Cabul in Jamadi-ul-awal (June), and I have mastered its contents. If those persons who are in the neighbourhood or propinquity of great and powerful States, and for whom it is easy and feasible to undertake certain affairs in their country or city according to their capabilities and the customs and usages of that country or city, maintain (friendly) relations with (those) States, undoubtedly it is not politic or advisable that they should deviate from such relations. But as the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor is great and powerful, and as it is customary for its neighbours and the people in its adjacent territories to expect kindness and rectitude from it, if such great and noted Government shows kindness and mercy to the people in its neighbourhood or adjoining territories, certainly it will tend to the encouragement (*lit.*, hopes) of neighbours and the comfort of the people of God. Continue to afford me happiness by informing me of your health, &c.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Abstract Translation of Murrasilu, dated 13th Jamadi-ul-Sani (July 6, 1876), from the Russian Governor-General to the Ameer.

To discuss about some important Turkistan matters I was summoned by the Emperor, and after remaining about six months at St. Petersburgh, returned to Tashkand. I have considered it advisable to send this information to you. The friendship existing between you and the Russian Government and between you and me has been promoted. I pray God for your (long) life. Your rectitude will tend to the comfort and happiness of the subjects (of the Government of Russia and Afghanistan).

No. 285.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 26. Consular.)
St. Petersburgh, November 28, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Taganrog, reporting the movement of troops and the military preparations in his district, and that a large body of troops was being sent, viâ Rostoff, to the Caucasus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 285.

Consul Carruthers to Lord A. Loftus.

Taganrog, November 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that a general movement of troops has commenced in this quarter; all the reserve forces and the military on furlough have received orders to join their respective corps.

The railway trains for goods and likewise those for passengers are suspended, to make way for the conveyance of troops and their accouterments.

A large body of men, said to number 14,000 men, are on passage viâ Rostoff on the Don, for Vladikaukaz, the Caucasus, and Georgia.

All the horses at this place and environs are called out, in order that selection may be made of such as are suitable for the cavalry, for the artillery, and for baggage conveyance. Carts with drivers are pressed, moreover, into the service.

The movement and general commotion, in fact, is greatly in excess of that which took place in this quarter prior to the late Crimean war. Russia appears to be determined on warfare.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. C. CARRUTHERS.

No. 286.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 570.)
St. Petersburgh, December 4, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship the annexed addresses which have been presented to the Emperor from the nobility of Moscow, Orel, Sivonia, Esthonia, as also from all classes of the districts of Mestchow, Médyne, and Borissoglebsk, and from the towns of Odessa, Kalouga, Novgorod, and Gjatsk, expressing, in reply to His Majesty's speech at Moscow, their profound attachment and their readiness to sacrifice their lives and property for the holy cause which His Majesty has espoused.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 286.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November 23/12, 1876.

Le "Messager Officiel" publie les adresses suivantes à Sa Majesté l'Empereur :—

"Adresse de la ville de Novgorod.

"Sire,

"LA nation Russe, placée par la Divine Providence sous l'autorité souveraine de Votre Majesté Impériale, a vu que sur votre sommation adressée à la Porte le sang de dizaines de milliers de nos frères de race et de religion a cessé de couler; elle a vu que, dans votre haute sollicitude pour la prospérité et le bonheur de votre peuple, vous avez résolu l'amélioration effective du sort de tous les Chrétiens qui depuis des siècles gémissent sous le dur joug Musulman. Des millions de cœurs bénissent pour cela votre nom.

"Croyez, Sire, que ces paroles que vous avez prononcées à Moscou, l'antique capitale : 'Que Dieu nous aide à remplir notre sainte mission,' ont, comme l'éclair, pénétré profondément les esprits et rempli d'une sainte émotion les cœurs de tous vos fidèles sujets; elles nous confirment dans la certitude que, seul au monde, notre Souverain Orthodoxe est, par les desseins de Dieu même, appelé à être le grand libérateur des peuples de la Péninsule des Balkans, qui souffrent sous une oppression séculaire, à relever et à glorifier le symbole de notre foi, la croix du Christ, insultée par les sectateurs du faux prophète.

"Sire, les habitants de l'antique Novgorod déposent au pied de votre trône l'expression de leur sentiments de dévouement sans bornes, de respectueux attachement et d'obéissance invariable à votre volonté; ils sont toujours prêts à donner sur votre appel leur vie pour le Souverain et pour la Russie."

"Adresse de la ville de Kalouga.

"Sire,

"C'est avec le sentiment d'un profond dévouement à Votre Majesté Impériale que nous avons lu les paroles que vous avez fait entendre à Moscou, l'antique capitale, paroles inspirées par votre amour pour vos fidèles sujets et par votre sollicitude pour le bonheur et l'honneur du people que Dieu vous a confié.

"Animés d'une foi profonde en la Divine Providence, en votre mission, Tsar-Libérateur, nous espérons que fort de votre amour pour vos peuples et de leur attachement sans bornes vous atteindrez par des voies de paix l'affranchissement de nos frères par la race et la religion; mais si l'heure de la lutte venait à sonner, les habitants de toute classe de la ville de Kalouga seraient prêts à faire, sur un signe de Votre Majesté Impériale, le sacrifice de leur vie et de leurs biens pour votre gloire, Sire, pour l'honneur de notre chère patrie."

"Adresse de toutes les classes de la population du districte de Borissoglebsk.

"Sire,

"Les paroles mémorables que Votre Majesté Impériale a fait entendre dans l'antique capitale de la Russie ont trouvé un écho dans nos cœurs, animés d'un dévouement sans bornes pour Votre Majesté, et nous sommes prêts à sacrifier nos vies et nos fortunes pour notre Monarque bien-aimé et notre chère patrie. Toutes les classes de la population du district de Borissoglebsk s'unissent pour déposer respectueusement aux pieds de Votre Majesté Impériale l'hommage de leurs sentiments et pour prier le Tout-Puissant afin qu'il vous soutienne, Sire, dans ce moment pénible et qu'il accorde le succès à vos actes pour la gloire de votre grand règne et pour le bonheur et la prospérité de votre chère Russie. Ordonnez, Sire; et nous, vos fidèles sujets, nous nous lèverons comme un seul homme pour défendre le Tsar-Libérateur et notre chère patrie."

"Adresse de la ville de Gjatsk.

"Sire,

"Les paroles augustes et précieuses pour tous les cœurs Russes que Votre Majesté Impériale a adressées à la noblesse et à la municipalité de Moscou ont rempli nos cœurs de la joie la plus vive; comme la Russie entière, les habitants de Gjatsk sont prêts à donner, sur un mot de Votre Majesté Impériale, leur vie pour défendre l'honneur de la Russie, si l'affranchissement des peuples Slaves de la Péninsule des Balkans, nos frères de race et de religion, opprimés par le joug Ottoman, ne peut s'accomplir par les voies de la paix, selon les sages desseins de Votre Majesté Impériale.

"Les enfants de la Russie sont morts pour la foi, pour le Tsar, et pour la patrie; nous aussi nous défendrons le sol Russe! Nous déposons respectueusement aux pieds de Votre Majesté nos vies et nos biens."

Sa Majesté l'Empereur a daigné recevoir ces adresses et faire remercier les villes de Novgorod, Kalouga et Gjatsk et la population du district de Borissoglebsk des sentiments qu'elles ont exprimés.

Inclosure 2 in No. 286.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{13}{25}$, 1876.

LE "Messager Officiel" publie ce matin les adresses suivantes à Sa Majesté l'Empereur:—

"Adresse de la Ville d'Odessa.

"Sire,

"Moscou, qui est le centre de la Russie, vous a déjà exprimé les sentiments qui l'animent en présence des événements actuels et Votre Majesté Impériale a daigné accueillir avec bienveillance l'expression de ces sentiments et accorder à Moscou la plus haute récompense qu'elle pût ambitionner, en témoignant la confiance qu'à votre appel elle donnera à la Russie l'exemple de l'accomplissement du devoir.

"La bourgeoisie d'Odessa a cédé à l'antique capitale l'honneur de porter la première la parole, mais elle ne peut contenir plus longtemps les sentiments qui l'animent depuis longtemps et l'expression du profond dévouement avec lequel elle est prête à donner ses biens et son sang quand l'ordonnera le Souverain bien-aimé.

"Plus rapprochée que toutes vos autres villes du théâtre des événements actuels et à venir et consciente de cette situation, Odessa, qui doit sa création et sa prospérité à la bienveillance de vos aïeux et aux faveurs de Votre Majesté, est unanime à prouver qu'aux derniers confins de votre vaste puissance le cœur Russe bat non moins fort qu'au centre. Pour l'attachement et le dévouement au Souverain, nous ne cédons à personne la première place et sur un signe de vous, Sire, nous ferons tous notre devoir dans une lutte sainte pour la défense des droits de l'humanité foulés aux pieds dans nos frères de la Péninsule des Balkans."

"Adresse de toutes les classes de la population du district de Mestchow.

"Sire,

"La parole ferme et résolue de Votre Majesté Impériale a arrêté l'effusion du sang de nos frères Slaves; mais si, par la volonté de la destinée, à la gloire de la Russie, l'élu de Dieu juge nécessaire de prendre les armes pour délivrer les Slaves de l'infâme joug Musulman, les ennemis de la politique de paix du Tsar-Libérateur verront la Russie entière se lever comme un seul homme au premier appel de son Souverain bien-aimé; nos vies et nos biens appartiennent à Votre Majesté et à notre chère patrie, comme nos ancêtres nous en ont donné l'exemple, et nos femmes, guidées par l'exemple des augustes protectrices et consolatrices des blessés, nous suivront et rempliront tous les devoirs imposés par la Croix-Rouge.

"Les sentiments que nous exprimons en ce moment sont ceux de tous les Russes, qui déposent aux pieds de leur Souverain bien-aimé leur vie et leur fortune."

"Adresse de toutes les classes de la population du district de Médyne.

"Sire,

"LES paroles souveraines que Votre Majesté Impériale a fait entendre dans l'antique capitale se sont profondément gravées dans les cœurs de vos fidèles sujets. Nos aïeux et nos pères ont versé leur sang pour la défense de nos coreligionnaires et nous, les enfants de votre grande nation, nous sommes, avec un dévouement sans bornes au Trône et à la patrie, prêts à remplir religieusement notre devoir dans la guerre comme dans la paix. Si la volonté souveraine nous appelle à défendre nos frères opprimés, nos vies et tout ce que nous possédons est à vous Sire.",

Sa Majesté l'Empereur a daigné recevoir ces adresses et faire remercier la ville d'Odessa et la population des districts de Mestchow et de Médyne des sentiments qu'elles ont exprimés.

Inclosure 3 in No. 286.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{17}{29}$, 1876.

ON lit dans le "Messager Officiel:"—

Avant-hier, Dimanche, 14 Novembre, Sa Majesté l'Empereur a reçu, à Tsarkoé-Sélo, une députation de la noblesse du Gouvernement de St. Pétersbourg composée de M. l'Assesseur de Collége, Comte Bobrinsky, Maréchal de la Noblesse du Gouvernement, M. le Comte Bobrinsky, Ecuyer de la Cour de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, et M. le Conseiller Privé, Comte Orlow-Davydow.

M. le Maréchal de la Noblesse du Gouvernement de St. Pétersbourg a lu l'adresse suivante de la noblesse de la province:—

"Sire,

"C'est avec un sentiment de patriotique fierté que nous avons entendu les paroles que Votre Majesté Impériale a prononcées pour la défense des Chrétiens opprimés de la Péninsule des Balkans. Les journées du 18 et du 29 Octobre resteront à jamais mémorables.

"Votre Majesté a indiqué les bases d'une politique pleine de désintéressement qui nous donnent le droit d'espérer que les difficultés soulevées en Orient seront aplanies par des voix de paix à la gloire et à l'honneur de la Russie.

"Si une semblable issue est impossible, nous sommes prêts, à l'exemple de nos aïeux, à sacrifier, au premier signe de Votre Majesté Impériale, nos biens pour une cause sainte et à sceller de notre sang les paroles du Souverain bien-aimé."

Après avoir gracieusement entendu cette adresse, Sa Majesté a remercié la noblesse de St. Pétersbourg des sentiments qu'elle avait exprimés.

Inclosure 4 in No. 286.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{18}{30}$, 1876.

LE "Messager Officiel" publie les adresses suivantes à Sa Majesté l'Empereur:—

"Adresse de la Noblesse d'Orel.

"Sire,

"Dans sa paternelle sollicitude pour le bonheur de la nation Russe, Votre Majesté Impériale a porté ses regards sur nos frères de religion et de race qui gémissent sous le joug de l'Islam et a décidé d'assurer l'amélioration effective de leur sort. C'est avec une radieuse confiance dans l'avenir que nous nous en remettons respectueusement aux résolutions de votre sagesse, et, animés d'un attachement et d'un dévouement sans bornes pour le Trône de Votre Majesté, nous sommes prêts sur un mot de vous, Sire, à nous armer contre les ennemis de la foi, du Tsar, et de la patrie."

"Adresse de la Noblesse de Livonie.

"Sire,

"Les paroles prononcées à Moscou par Votre Majesté Impériale ont trouvé un écho dans toute la Russie. L'annonce de la ferme résolution prise par Votre Majesté de défendre les Chrétiens opprimés de l'Orient a rempli de joie les cœurs de tous vos fidèles sujets. Nous avons la ferme confiance que notre glorieux et bien-aimé Souverain, qui s'est illustré par tant et de si grands actes civils, ne rompra pas une paix si utile à la Russie sans y être contraint par la nécessité. Mais s'il entre dans les desseins de Dieu de vous obliger, Sire, à recourir à la force des armes pour atteindre un but sacré, tous les fidèles enfants de la Russie répondront joyeusement à l'appel de leur Monarque bien-aimé.

"Dans les sentiments de profond dévouement à la maison souveraine de Votre Majesté Impériale, qui lui ont été légués par ses ancêtres, et avec l'union indissoluble qui forme au lieu d'état entre toutes les parties du vaste Empire Russe, la noblesse de Livonie considère comme un devoir sacré pour elle de venir, à cette heure solennelle, déposer aux pieds de Votre Majesté l'hommage de sa fidélité sans bornes et appeler les bénédictions du ciel sur l'élu de Dieu."

"*Adresse de la Noblesse d'Esthonie.*

"Sire,

"Les paroles souveraines prononcées à Moscou par Votre Majesté Impériale ont trouvé un écho enthousiaste dans les cœurs des gentilshommes d'Esthonie.

"Sire, nous avons profondément conscience du saint devoir de Votre Majesté Impériale de se constituer le défenseur des Chrétiens nos frères qui souffrent l'oppression dans la Péninsule des Balkans; il vous est réservé d'assurer à ces peuples, qui pendant des siècles ont gémi sous le joug intolérable de l'esclavage, une existence digne de la nature humaine.

"Nous croyons d'une foi ferme que le Tout-Puissant, qui a si manifestement béni jusqu'ici le règne de Votre Majesté Impériale, accordera aussi dans le moment présent son secours à vos actes, qui tendent au bien et à l'honneur de l'humanité Chrétienne.

"Nous savons que, puissant défenseur du Christianisme et de l'humanité, vous nourrissez le désir le plus sincère d'atteindre par les voies de la paix la solution de la question aujourd'hui soulevée; mais si les événements politiques vous obligent, Sire, à recourir à la force des armes, la noblesse d'Esthonie sera au poste que lui ont toujours assigné son attachement et sa fidélité à Votre Majesté Impériale et au pays. C'est avec une confiance inébranlable que nous attendrons les résolutions de Votre Majesté Impériale.

"Nos cœurs s'unissent dans une même prière pour demander au Tout-Puissant qu'en ce moment grave il accorde ses bénédictions à vos paroles et à vos actes. Que Dieu garde Votre Majesté Impériale!"

Sa Majesté l'Empereur a daigné recevoir ces adresses et faire remercier les noblesses des Gouvernements d'Orel, de Livonie, et d'Esthonie des sentiments qu'elles ont exprimés.

No. 287.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 571.)

St. Petersburgh, December 4, 1876.

My Lord,

VARIOUS organs of the Russian press, noted for their Slavophile tendencies, including the "Russki Mir," "Novoe Vremia," "Moscow Gazette," and "Birja," have been strongly advocating the employment of privateers in the event of a war with England.

I am informed that the Society for the encouragement of Navigation has publicly opened a subscription at Moscow for the purpose of purchasing a privateer in North America, and a Moscow paper, in alluding to the fact, states that large sums have already been subscribed for that purpose.

I imagine that the same operation is going on here, for I am told by a friend of mine that he had been applied to for a similar subscription.

I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith an article written by Professor Martens, Professor of International Law at the University of St. Petersburgh, refuting the opinions of the Russian press that it would be for the interest of Russia to re-establish privateering.

Professor Martens first proves that the Declaration of 1856, abolishing privateering, was not a component part of the Treaty of Paris, and that, consequently, it would not become invalid in the event of that Treaty becoming so by war.

In his opinion, the four Articles of the Declaration of Paris have nothing in common with the Treaty stipulating for the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of Paris is signed only by the Representatives of the Seven Powers, while the Declaration has received the adhesion of forty-six of the European States, and may be considered as the basis of the Maritime Code of all civilized nations.

Although, says Professor Martens, the Treaty of Paris has undergone changes since 1856, the Declaration has remained intact, and has been respected during the wars of 1859, 1864, 1866, and 1870.

Professor Martens then proves that the abrogation of the Declaration could only be to the advantage of England, and consequently, from a practical and military point of view, he cannot consider that its abrogation would be desirable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 287.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{14}{26}$, 1876.

LES JOURNAUX RUSSES.—Quelques uns de nos journaux ayant exprimé l'avis que dans l'éventualité d'une guerre entre la Russie et l'Angleterre, la Russie aurait intérêt au rétablissement de la course maritime, M. Martens, Professeur de Droit International à l'Université de St. Pétersbourg, réfute ces opinions dans un article publié par la "Voix."

On prétend, dit M. Martens, que la Déclaration de 1856, qui proscrit la course, fait partie intégrante du Traité de Paris et que par conséquent, une fois la guerre déclarée entre la Russie et la Grande Bretagne, cette Déclaration se trouverait abrogée de fait, ainsi que le serait dans ces circonstances le Traité lui-même.

Cette opinion recèle une erreur. On ne saurait soutenir en effet que la Déclaration de 1856 soit une annexe au Traité de Paris et que dès lors elle se trouverait abolie dans le cas où ce Traité perdrait sa force obligatoire.

A notre avis, dit M. Martens, les quatre Articles de la Déclaration de Paris qui règlent en temps de guerre les droits et les devoirs respectifs des belligérants et des neutres n'ont absolument rien de commun avec le Traité qui stipule l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale de l'Empire Ottoman. Ce dernier Traité n'est signé que par les Représentants de Sept Puissances, tandis que la Déclaration a reçu à l'heure qu'il est l'adhésion de quarante-six Etats de l'Europe et de l'Amérique et peut être considérée à bon droit comme la base du Code Maritime des nations civilisées. Les deux actes n'ont de commun que d'avoir été signés tous deux au Congrès de Paris, à une même table, et avec la même encre.

Si depuis 1856 le Traité de Paris a subi des atteintes, la Déclaration, quant à elle, est demeurée intacte et a été respectée au cours de toutes les guerres depuis celle d'Orient,—en 1859, en 1864, en 1866, et en 1870. Mais, de plus, dit M. Martens, nous n'hésitons pas à dire que le Traité de Paris lui-même est loin d'être périmé et qu'il n'est point du tout dans l'intérêt de la Russie de le déclarer abrogé dans les circonstances présentes. Le Traité de 1856, débarrassé en 1871 des clauses humiliantes pour la Russie qu'il contenait, reste la base juridique des négociations avec les Puissances Occidentales tendant à améliorer les conditions des Chrétiens de la Turquie. Si la Russie, se prévalant de ce Traité, peut s'assurer le concours de quelques-unes de ces Puissances, on ne voit pas à la vérité la raison pour laquelle elle le déchirerait, du moment que le Traité n'est autre chose qu'un moyen d'atteindre les buts que lui trace sa politique nationale.

D'après M. Martens, la question mérite d'être examinée sous une autre face. On nous assure que la course est le moyen le plus efficace de combattre l'Angleterre; que, difficilement vulnérable, grâce à sa situation insulaire, la Grande Bretagne doit redouter la course comme le moyen le plus désastreux pour agir contre sa marine marchande, et que par conséquent elle est plus intéressée que tout autre Puissance au maintien de la Déclaration de 1856.

En réalité cependant cette Déclaration n'est nulle part aussi peu populaire qu'en Angleterre. De bons esprits, des jurisconsultes éminents MM. Phillimore, Lorimer, et feu J. Stuart Mill lui-même, comptent au nombre de ses adversaires. N'oublions pas non plus Mr. Disraeli, qui en 1862 et en 1871 a attaqué la Déclaration avec une extrême vivacité; à l'entendre, la Déclaration de 1856 serait un "engagement fatal à l'Angleterre méritant d'occuper une des pages les plus sombres de son histoire."

Malgrés toutes ces attaques, la Déclaration a été maintenue en vigueur, et le Gouvernement Anglais a toujours réussi à triompher de ses adversaires. Il faisait couramment valoir que pendant toutes les guerres des derniers temps la Déclaration de Paris a été scrupuleusement observée par les parties belligérantes et que l'Angleterre ne saurait témoigner du mépris pour un engagement internationale librement consenti.

Cependant, se demande M. Martens, comment s'expliquer cette singulière hostilité des Anglais à l'égard de cette même Déclaration, quand on vient nous assurer d'autre part que son abrogation serait un moyen de ruine certain pour la suprématie maritime de l'Angleterre? Comment se fait-il que dans le courant d'une seule session il ait été présenté au Parlement cinquante-cinq pétitions réclamant le rétablissement de la course; et dans ce nombre des pétitions de villes aussi influentes que Birmingham, Glasgow, et Bradford.

L'esprit pratique des Anglais résout fort aisément cette question; les Anglais savent parfaitement qu'ils auraient beaucoup plus à gagner qu'à perdre à l'abrogation

de la Déclaration de Paris, et en effet ils ont toutes les facilités pour le prouver. La marine marchande de l'Angleterre compte 23,564 navires (20,265 voiliers et 3,299 vapeurs), tandis que celle des Etats Unis, la plus nombreuse après la flotte de commerce de la Grande Bretagne, ne se compose que de 7,288 bâtiments à voiles et de 605 vapeurs. La marine marchande de tous les autres Etats est inférieure en nombre à celle des Etats Unis. Tant que la Déclaration de 1856 est respectée, l'Angleterre, se trouvant en guerre avec l'une des Puissances signataires de cette Déclaration, ne peut employer à des opérations militaires et à la capture des navires de commerce, que les bâtiments de sa marine militaire; le rétablissement de la course lui délie les mains; chacun de ces 23,000 navires marchands pourrait, muni d'une lettre de marque, capturer les bâtiments de l'ennemi. Dès M. Martens conclut qu'en se plaçant au point de vue pratique et militaire, on ne peut désirer l'abrogation de la Déclaration de 1856.

Nous avons mentionné cette étude parce que plusieurs de nos journaux s'en sont occupés. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'ajouter qu'elle a une valeur absolument théorique et . . . personnelle à l'auteur que son opportunité même peut paraître contestable.

No. 288.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 575.) *St. Petersburgh, December 5, 1876.*

My Lord,

I FIND in the printed Correspondence (Confidential) on Eastern Affairs (Section for November 22, page 132) a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople referring to an observation made to me by General Schweinitz that "hopes were entertained at Livadia that the armistice demanded by General Ignatiew would be granted by the Porte if not opposed by his Excellency."

I am afraid that Sir Henry Elliot may have misinterpreted the sense in which I reported this observation, and I should be much grieved if he thought that the observation of General Schweinitz had been accepted by me in any other light than as expressing the recognition of the influence which Sir H. Elliot so deservedly possessed and so ably exercised over the Councils of the Porte.

I merely reported the phrase used by General Schweinitz, who had just returned from Livadia, and had reported the opinion prevailing there, which originated probably from telegraphic communication with Constantinople, but in doing so it was furthest from my intention to attach to it any insinuation of the nature referred to by Sir H. Elliot, nor do I believe that any such intention existed in the mind of General Schweinitz.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 289.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 576.) *St. Petersburgh, December 5, 1876.*

My Lord,

HAVING observed that in the press and elsewhere an opinion has been expressed assuming that the speech of His Majesty the Emperor at Moscow had been made as a rejoinder to the speech delivered by the Earl of Beaconsfield at Guildhall, I think it right to inform your Lordship that from information which has reached me from a reliable source, I am assured that his Imperial Majesty had no cognizance of the Earl of Beaconsfield's speech at the time when he addressed the deputations in that capital.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 290.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 577.) *St. Petersburgh, December 6, 1876.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my previous despatch No. 571 of the 4th instant, on the question of privateering, I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith, an abstract in translation by Mr. Michell from the "Golos," which organ, although disapproving of the principle of privateering, considers that its adoption by Russia would be justifiable in the event of a war, and that England should not recognize the inviolability of all private property at sea.

This question is being seriously agitated by the Russian press, in proof of which I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship, in translation from the "Agence Russe" of this morning, articles from the "Golos" and the "Russki Mir."

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 290.

Abstract of Article from the "Golos."

INDIA THE VULNERABLE POINT IN ENGLAND'S HEEL.—The "Golos" of the [illegible], 1876, discusses in a leading article the desirability of equipping privateers in the event of a war with England, and arrives at the conclusion that this expedient, though objectionable in principle, can be justifiably adopted in the event that England at the outbreak of hostilities does not recognize the inviolability of all private property at sea. The article concludes as follows:—"Political and common sense suggest greater caution in our relations with England. At the present moment there is no immediate danger of war with England, which country is apparently desirous of maintaining amicable relations with us. Long discussions as to the most efficacious means for mutual harm and destruction are premature. Should, however, an armed collision become unavoidable between England and Russia, it is on land, though may be not in Europe, that England may be more effectively assailed than by any number of privateers that may be let loose. The weak point in England's heel must not be sought in her commercial fleet, nor in Europe, nor yet in London, but . . . ."

Inclosure 2 in No. 290.

Extracts from the "Agence Russe" of December 6, 1876.

LA QUESTION DE LA COURSE.—Cette question qui préoccupe en ce moment l'opinion en Russie, a été discutée l'autre jour par M. Skalkovsky à une séance de la Société de Commerce et d'Industrie. Réfutant l'argumentation de M. Martens, Professeur de Droit International à l'Université de St. Pétersbourg, par rapport à la Déclaration de 1856, tout en constatant la pénurie de notre flotte, comparativement à celle de la Grande Bretagne, l'orateur a dit:—"Les Anglais seraient-ils assez naïfs pour armer à grands frais des navires afin de donner la chasse à quelques dizaines de nos bâtiments marchands et brûler tout au plus pour un million de marchandises, tandis qu'un corsaire Russe hardi, apparaissant dans l'Atlantique, leur provoquerait par la seule hausse des frêts et des primes d'assurance, une perte d'au moins un million par mois?"

L'argument a paru décisif.

Depuis quelques jours toute la presse Russe agite sérieusement cette question. Il nous serait impossible de résumer ici tous les articles qui la traitent. Nous nous bornerons à en reproduire les plus importants et ceux notamment qui ont fait sensation.

Le "Golos," qui avait ouvert ses colonnes à une remarquable étude du Professeur Martens contre la course, a publié avant-hier une étude non moins brillante, signée un "Diplomate," et refutant les conclusions du savant jurisconsulte. C'est une des

meilleurs preuves de l'intérêt actuel de la question que cet accueil fait par le même journal au pour et au contre. Après avoir résumé l'autre jour l'article du Professeur Martens, nous donnons aujourd'hui l'analyse rapide de ce second article, qui représente le côté purement pratique de la question :—

"La base des rapports nationaux," dit l'écrivain habile qui se cache sous le voile de "Diplomate."—"c'est la solidarité. Or, y a-t-il solidarité vis-à-vis d'une Puissance exclusivement insulaire? Non; il n'y a pas solidarité, parce qu'il n'y a pas parité." L'Angleterre, tranquille pour ses frontières, exempte de l'onéreux souci d'entretenir une armée territoriale, peut consacrer toutes ses forces exclusivement au développement de sa force navale. Or, elle a établi sa prépondérance sur mer et la maintiendra en maintenant toujours la même proportion entre son effectif et ceux des flottes Continentales. Et si la Puissance militaire, passagère et accidentelle, doit toujours céder à un moment quelconque devant une coalition, "la prépondérance maritime, au contraire, est indestructible." Elle est toujours en mesure d'affaiblir les Etats Continentaux lorsque le développement de leur marine lui porte ombrage. C'est ce que l'Angleterre a fait avec les marines Danoise, Hollandaise, Française, et la flotte Russe de la Mer Noire. "Inattaquable chez elle, elle est toujours libre d'attaquer chez les autres." L'auteur en arrive, en énumérant les forces écrasantes d'une Puissance exclusivement maritime, à rechercher quels pourraient être les moyens de menacer cette Puissance, pour rétablir, en cas de conflit, cette parité si nécessaire à tout équilibre Européen. Il se demande si le bénéfice des lois internationales, fondé sur la solidarité des Puissances engagées, peut-être invoqué par l'Angleterre. Pour cette Puissance, les ravages de la guerre sont nuls et se bornent à des pertes portant exclusivement sur ses forces de guerre. Elle n'a à redouter ni les occupations désastreuses, ni les récoltes perdues, ni les villages incendiés. Si le soldat Anglais peut être, à bord d'un "man-of-war," atteint par une balle ennemie, la nation Anglaise est à l'abri de tous les fléaux qui suivent les armées, et longtemps après leur passage témoignent de la route qu'elles ont suivie. Où donc frapper la nation Anglaise en cas de guerre pour la contraindre à la paix? Dans son commerce. "Elle ne subsiste que par le commerce. C'est là le côté faible de sa position insulaire. C'est non seulement la source de sa richesse, mais celle de son existence." La seule arme que possèdent les Puissances en guerre avec elle, c'est donc la course. "Arme terrible, car sur ce terrain la proportion est renversée. Autant, sur la terre ferme, elle peut faire du mal aux autres sans en recevoir elle-même, autant, sur mer, les pertes auxquelles elle est exposé l'emportent sur celles qu'elle peut causer à son ennemi."

Une nation continentale menacée par l'Angleterre, bloquée même dans ses ports, pourrait à la rigueur se passer de son trafic maritime. L'Angleterre, au contraire, serait sérieusement menacée rien que par l'augmentation du fret résultant des dangers courus sur ses navires. Mais, dit-on, le rétablissement de la course serait la dénonciation de la clause du Traité de 1856? A cela, l'auteur de l'article du "Goloss" répond que l'Angleterre, à l'abri de ce même Traité, anéantira la marine de commerce de son adversaire impunément en raison de la facilité qu'elle aura de bloquer tous ses ports. La course par bâtiment de l'Etat, sous pavillon de la Puissance en guerre, n'est pas défendue par le Traité de Paris, ce qui, vu la supériorité numérique de la marine Anglaise sur toutes les marines de guerre du Continent, lui assure le droit de course à l'exclusion de toute autre Puissance. Quant au point de vue moral, l'auteur démontre que la manière la plus morale de menacer son adversaire, c'est de le menacer d'une arme qui pourra le contraindre à renoncer à toute idée de guerre. Il cite à ce sujet l'exemple des Etats Unis dans leurs rapports avec la Grande Bretagne. "L'Angleterre sait que le jour où elle déclarerait la guerre aux Etats Unis, ceux-ci armeraient au corsaire tous leurs navires de commerce et couvriraient de corsaires toutes les mers du globe. Qu'en résulte-t-il? Que l'Angleterre a les plus grands égards pour le Gouvernement Fédéral, que les débats irritants qui se sont élevés entre eux ont été résolus par des transactions et que la paix a été maintenue." Devant les conclusions tirées de l'examen même des faits, l'auteur termine en constatant que si la Russie se trouvait dans la même position que les Etats Unis vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre, il est probable que la politique Anglaise aurait un caractère moins personnel et que la nation surveillerait de plus près les agissements impolitiques de certaines personnalités trop entreprenantes du Cabinet actuel. "Nous sommes persuadés," dit-il en finissant, "que cet état de choses serait impossible, si l'Angleterre n'était pas assurée de l'impunité, si elle savait qu'une guerre avec la Russie entraînerait pour elle des risques sérieux."

Dans son numéro suivant le "Goloss" revient sur la question de la course et se livre sur le fait même du réveil de cette question en Russie et des proportions qu'elle a

soudainement prise dans la presse Russe à des réflexions qui ont leur importance et sur lesquelles nous appelons tout particulièrement l'attention des journaux Libéraux Anglais :—

"La lettre de M. Martens sur 'l'Angleterre et la Déclaration de Paris de 1856,' que nous avons reproduite dans un de nos récents numéros, touche à une question essentiellement actuelle. Elle a soudainement mis en émoi la presse Russe tout entière. C'est au point qu'elle passionne en ce moment l'opinion, si comme nous étions à la veille d'une guerre avec l'Angleterre et qu'il faille alors et déjà nous occuper des moyens de nous défendre contre l'ennemi en lui portant les coups les plus sensibles. Ce fait est assez significatif. Tandis, en effet, que les organes les plus influents de la presse Britannique s'efforcent de convaincre la Russie des bonnes dispositions de l'Angleterre et de son désir de maintenir la paix, tandis que des hommes d'Etat, tels que MM. Bright, Gladstone, Forster, et Carlyle, affirment publiquement et avec solennité leur estime pour le peuple Russe et conseillent une pleine confiance dans ses déclarations officielles et publiques, chez nous, au contraire, on envisage sérieusement l'éventualité d'une guerre avec l'Angleterre, on s'occupe des moyens les plus propres à nous y préparer et l'on traite avec hâte la question du rétablissement de la course.

"Si les déplorables résultats de la politique hostile et anti-nationale suivie jusqu'ici par le Cabinet Beaconsfield avait besoin d'être démontrés par d'autres faits que les complications bien connues qu'elle a provoquées dans la crise Orientale, nous aurions cette démonstration à l'état d'évidence décisive dans cette préoccupation générale qui s'est emparée du public Russe. Certes, la Russie n'a aucun parti-pris contre l'Angleterre, encore moins celui de lui faire la guerre. Si donc malgré les sympathies générales éveillées en Russie par les manifestations solennelles de la nation Anglaise en faveur des malheureuses populations Chrétiennes des Balkans et par les déclarations amicales d'hommes aussi populaires en Angleterre et en Russie que ceux que nous venons de citer, l'opinion Russe s'est émue davantage du langage, de l'attitude et de la conduite hostiles du Cabinet Britannique, c'est que cette hostilité est en ce moment au pouvoir et que c'est du pouvoir et non pas de la nation ou de l'opposition que dépendent les relations actuelles entre la Grande Bretagne et la Russie.

"Le 'Goloss' passe ensuite à examiner le pour et le contre des deux opinions mises en présence dans ses colonnes, celle du Professeur Martens et celle du diplomate, et démontre que si la première a pour elle la théorie et les principes, la seconde a en sa faveur la pratique."

Le "Monde Russe" dit de son côté sur la même question :—

"La question du rétablissement de la course au cas d'une guerre avec l'Angleterre prend dans notre presse des proportions de plus en plus grandes. La plupart de nos confrères se prononcent dans un sens identique à l'opinion que nous émettions nous-mêmes ces jours-ci. Dans un article très étendu de M. Skalkovski sur la question, nous trouvons encore des argumens contre les conclusions du Professeur Martens. De notre côté nous croyons utile d'ajouter quelques mots destinés à corroborer notre thèse. En combattant le rétablissement de la course M. Martens cite en passant cette circonstance que les Etats Unis n'appartiennent pas au groupe des Etats qui signèrent la Déclaration du 16 Avril, 1856, relative à la suppression de la course; il est à regretter qu'il ne donne pas la raison pour laquelle l'Amérique n'a pas jugé à propos de se joindre aux Puissances contractantes. Pourtant la connaissance des motifs de cette abstention est des plus importantes, car elle donne le moyen de formuler les conditions actuelles de la guerre maritime au point de vue du droit international contemporain. Les Etats Unis désiraient la reconnaissance du principe de l'entière inviolabilité de la propriété privée sur mer et demandaient en conséquence que ce principe fut sanctionné par la Déclaration du 16 Avril, 1856. En présence du refus catégorique de l'Angleterre, ils préférèrent s'abstenir complètement de participer à la dite Déclaration. Ainsi, les Américains ont su prévoir, au moment même où l'acte du 16 Avril, 1856, se signait, les conséquences désavantageuses qu'il devait amener pour toutes les Puissances maritimes secondaires excepté pour l'Angleterre et son incontestable au point de vue de la civilisation de la guerre. Sanctionner officiellement la piraterie tout en en réduisant la pratique par les navires particuliers, c'est évidemment livrer la flotte marchande de son pays à la disposition d'un ennemi dont les forces maritimes sont supérieures et, c'est en même temps, pour l'Etat maritime inférieur, renoncer bénévolement au seul moyen de représailles praticable. Les Américains les premiers ont très-bien compris cela et

c'est pourquoi ils ne méritent en aucune façon les reproches que leur adresse le Professeur Martens à propos des incidents de la dernière guerre de sécession. Par elle-même, la course certainement ne représente pas une théorie qu'il faille soutenir irrévocablement; mais c'est, en certain cas, une nécessité majeure, une ressource extrême de défense, qui s'impose à un Etat maritime inférieure contre les usages inexorables du droit de guerre pratiqué par la plus grande Puissance maritime du monde, l'Angleterre, que celle-ci se désiste hautement de la piraterie en temps de guerre et la question de la course disparaît d'elle-même; ou bien la suppression complète de la piraterie, ou bien le maintien de la course. Tel est le juste et inévitable dilemme à poser à l'Angleterre dans le cas d'une conflagration avec elle."

No. 291.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 578.) *St. Petersburgh, December* 6, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship the following abstracts, in translation by Mr. Michell, from the Russian press on Eastern affairs:—

1. Article from the "Golos" of December 2 on the conditions for an amicable arrangement between England and Russia in the East.

2. Article from the "Exchange Gazette" of December 5, remarking that the suspicious attitude of Europe against Russia is not altogether unwarranted.

3. Article from the "Golos," stating that the occupation of Bulgaria by Russian troops is the only solution of the present difficulties in the East.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 291.

Abstract of Article in the "Golos" of December 2, 1876.

IN its issue of the 2nd December / 20th November, 1870, the "Golos" makes the following observations with reference to the possibility of an amicable solution of difficulties in the East at the Conference about to assemble at Constantinople:—

"The possibility of an arrangement between Russia and England does not at all depend on the circumstance whether Lords Beaconsfield, Derby, or any one else may be Prime Minister of England for the time being, but on the condition that the person filling this position should recognize the justice and legality of the fundamental demands of Russia. It is no secret that the germ of disagreement lies in the fact that Russia estimates the necessity of a permanent amelioration in the condition of the Balkan Christians higher than the desirability of maintaining the inviolability and sovereign rights of the Sultan over his Christian subjects. On this point Russia will make no concessions to England . . . . . .

"Should the British Cabinet recognize that the inviolability of the supreme rights of the Sultan must be subordinated to the necessity of procuring serious guarantees for the revolted provinces, in such case an arrangement will not only be possible, but must be regarded as already thoroughly ensured, inasmuch as Russia, having obtained this concession, will not place any obstacles in matters of detail concerning the realization of the programme which shall have been worked out by general assent."

Inclosure 2 in No. 291.

Abstract of Article from the "Exchange Gazette" of December 5, 1876.

SUSPICIOUS ATTITUDE OF EUROPE IN REGARD TO THE EASTERN QUESTION.—THE "Gazette de la Bourse" of the 5th December, 1870, makes the following remarks on the subject:—

"Notwithstanding the peace-loving nature of the Russian people, and the pacific character of Russian policy, particularly during the present reign, we must however acknowledge that we are not altogether blameless for the suspicion which not only England, but partly the whole of Europe, harbours against us. England is roused by our campaigns in Central Asia, and Europe by the Panslavistic aspirations, which, though ridiculous and grotesque even in the sight of every enlightened Russian, are nevertheless categorically incontrovertible and exceedingly disagreeable to the major portion of European society.

"Is Europe, however, in a position to appreciate the real harmlessness of our Panslavic schemes? Is she really aware that our Slavophiles take to Panslavism only out of love for art, and indulge in the dreams of universal Panslavistic domination because they are not able to devote themselves to anything more immediately practical? The idea of Panslavism, however, exists, and does not present in itself anything absolutely impossible. It is no wonder, therefore, that Europe tries to combat it whenever an opportunity more or less convenient presents itself.

"The same effect is produced on Europe, and particularly on England, by our conquests in Central Asia, which are rather a source of loss than profit to us. It is difficult to convince the English of the fact that, notwithstanding we have occupied Turkestan for more than fifteen years, we have not yet cultivated a single acre of land there, nor yet established any institutions of public utility. They only see that our troops advance steadily towards the Hindu Cush, and they therefore warmly applaud the Premier whenever he expresses determination to oppose the aggressive plans of Russia."

The article then appeals to Russian society, and especially to the Russian press, to use their best endeavours in allaying the suspicions which are so generally entertained in Europe against the plans and motives of Russia, and is of opinion that in this manner more effectual assistance may be rendered to the Christians of the Balkan Peninsula than by the most successful Russian campaign in that quarter.

Inclosure 3 in No. 291.

Abstract of Article from the "Golos" of December 1, 1876.

MILITARY OCCUPATION OF BULGARIA BY RUSSIAN TROOPS.—THE "Golos" of the 1st December, 1876, devotes a leading article to a consideration of the question as to whether a military occupation of Bulgaria is necessary, and arrives at an affirmative conclusion, being, moreover, of opinion that such occupation must inevitably be effected by Russian troops.

It further maintains that should the question of military occupation be recognized in principle, it is by the Russian troops alone that this difficult problem can be satisfactorily solved.

No. 292.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 579.) *St. Petersburgh, December* 5, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship an article from the "Agence Russe" relating to the departure on the 30th ultimo of the Grand Duke Nicolas Nicolaevitch for Kicheneff to assume the command of the active army of the South.

Colonel Gaillard, the French Military Attaché, accompanied His Imperial Highness by special invitation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 292.

Extract from the "Agence Russe."

LE DÉPART DE SON ALTESSE IMPÉRIALE LE GRAND DUC NICOLAS.—HIER, 29 November / 11 December, la Gare Nicolas et ses environs offraient, vers le 1 heure de l'après-midi, un aspect des

plus mouvementés. Une masse de militaires de tous rangs et un foule de peuple s'y pressaient pour témoigner de leurs sentiments et de leurs vœux à son Altesse Impériale le Commandant-en-chef de l'armée du sud, qui allait partir pour se rendre à son poste. La perspective, depuis le Pont d'Ouitchkov, était pleine de monde et de militaires en brillants uniformes se rendant à la gare. Ces derniers étaient si nombreux qu'ils ne pouvaient tous se tenir dans l'immense salle d'attente. A 1½ heures arrivèrent ses Altesses Impériales le Grand Duc Héritier et les Grands Ducs Vladimir, Serge, Constantin, père, et les Princes Romanovsky et d'Oldenbourg. Les officiers de tous rangs accompagnant son Altesse Impériale prirent de suite place dans les waggons qui leurs étaient réservés. Bientôt les hourrahs poussés au loin par la foule annoncèrent que le Grand Duc arrivait. Son Altesse Impériale arriva à la gare à 2 heures justes, ayant à côté de lui dans son traîneau son second fils, Pierre Nicolaïévitch. Elle fut reçue par le Grand Duc Héritier, qui lui remit un fermoir de voyage de la part des troupes de la Garde, par une députation de la ville chargée de lui exprimer les vœux de toutes les classes de la société Pétersbourgeoise, ainsi que par le Chef de la 22me Division Militaire qui remit à son Altesse Impériale une image de campagne au nom des troupes comprenant l'arrondissement militaire de St. Pétersbourg. Après quelques paroles prononcées par le Grand Duc pour dire aux assistants combien ces témoignages lui rendraient toujours cher le souvenir des troupes avec lesquelles il avait passé tant d'années, son Altesse Impériale se dirigea, au milieu des hourrahs les plus retentissants, vers son waggon. Tous les assistants accompagnant son Altesse Impériale et les militaires partant se pressèrent alors le long du train, et lorsqu'il se mit en marche des hourrahs encore plus étourdissants partirent de cette foule. Le train n'était pas encore à un kilomètre de distance que les mêmes cris bien nourris s'entendaient. C'était les soldats du régiment des Cosaques de la Garde qui, eux aussi, avaient voulu prendre congé de son Altesse Impériale, et souhaiter bon voyage et bonne chance au chef si réellement aimé des soldats.

La suite de son Altesse se compose de soixante-seize officiers. L'itinéraire du voyage est le suivant: Arrivée à Moscou le 29 Novembre / 2 Décembre, à 5 heures du matin; départ de cette ville par le chemin de Koursk à 1 heure de l'après-midi; arrêts à Toula, à Orel, à Kiev; arrivée à Kichénev le 1 Novembre / 3 Décembre, 6 heures du matin. En tout, 2,205 verstes de parcours.

No. 293.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 586.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December 6*, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship an article of the "Journal de St. Petersburgh" taken from the official "Bulletin des Lois," stating that the Imperial sanction has been given to a Regulation emanating from the Ministry of War on the subject of the obligatory delivery of horses for the wants of the army in the time of war under compensation from the Crown.

A list is given of those exempted from this requisition. I observe, however, that no mention is made in these exemptions of Article XIV of the Treaty of Commerce between England and Russia of 1859, which expressly states that British subjects are exempted from all contributions whether pecuniary or in kind, imposed as a compensation for personal military service, and also from forced loans and military exaction, or requisitions, excepting, however, such military exactions and requisitions as all subjects of Russia may be required to furnish as landed proprietors, or as farmers.

I have thought it right to call the attention of M. de Giers to this omission.

His Excellency stated that he had forgotten, at the time when the subject was before the Council of Ministers, to refer to the question of foreign subjects, and he promised that this omission should be duly corrected by a supplementary article.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 293.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of 29 November / 11 December 1876.

LE 24 Octobre Sa Majesté l'Empereur a daigné sanctionner le règlement élaboré au Ministère de la Guerre et examiné au Conseil de l'Empire au sujet de la livraison obligatoire de chevaux pour les besoins de l'armée en temps de guerre, contre indemnité de la couronne. Ce règlement est applicable dans toute l'étendue de l'Empire, y compris les Gouvernements du Royaume de Pologne et le Caucase, avec les restrictions suivantes: 1. Seront soustraits à l'application de la nouvelle loi le Gouvernement d'Arkhangel, les districts de Yarensk et d'Oust-Syssolsk du Gouvernement de Vologda et les districts ci-dessous du Gouvernement de Perm: Tscherdyn, Verkhotourie, Catherinebourg, Kamyschlow, Schadrin, et Irbit. 2. Le présent règlement sera appliqué dans la mesure du possible au Caucase, à la suite d'un accord préalable de son Altesse Impériale le Lieutenant de l'Empereur avec le Ministre de la Guerre et en vertu d'un accord préalable entre les Ministres de la Guerre et de l'Intérieur, dans les provinces des Cosaques et chez les populations nomades des Gouvernements d'Astrakhan et d'Orenbourg. Tous les chevaux dont l'aptitude pour le service de la guerre sera reconnue peuvent être réquisitionnés. Seront exemptés les chevaux appartenant aux écuriers des palais de la famille Impériale, aux Ambassades et Légations étrangères, aux généraux et officiers supérieurs selon les besoins du service, aux agents de la Police Exécutive, aux Administrations Postales de l'Etat et du Zemstvo et les étalons et juments entretenus exclusivement pour le reproduction dans les haras de l'Empire et dans quelques haras particuliers.

No. 294.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 582.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December 6*, 1876.

I CALLED M. de Giers' attention to-day to the inclosed article from the "Agence Russe," stating that the Russian papers announce that the Indian papers "Rassul" and "Bombay Gazette" have received a telegram from Lahore stating that the Ameer of Cabul had evinced the intention of receiving the Envoy of Russia with all the honours prescribed by Oriental etiquette. In view of which, the English Ambassador at Cabul, Mahomed Khan, had declared that his Government would view such an act as an offence. The Ameer, having persisted in his decision, the English Ambassador had asked for his passports and left Cabul.

M. de Giers said that he knew nothing of this report, and had not even seen it in the Russian press. He considered it as utterly unfounded and of pure invention.

Admitting that the intelligence in question might be greatly exaggerated, I observed to His Highness that I had certain information of General Kaufmann having sent two, if not three, agents to Cabul, and his Excellency would therefore see how necessary it was, with a view to maintain the engagements with Her Majesty's Government, that General Kaufmann should be instructed to abstain from sending agents to Cabul, and from entering into official communications with the Ameer of Afghanistan.

His Excellency replied that he could answer for General Kaufmann not having entered into any political negotiations with the Ameer of Afghanistan. He was daily expecting the answer from the General to the question he had addressed to him on the subject of my previous communication, and, on its receipt, would inform me of it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 294.

Extract from the "Agence Russe."

"LES journaux Russes disent qu'on télégraphie de Lahore aux journaux Indous 'le Rassul' et le 'Bombay Gazette' que l'Amir de Caboul a manifesté l'intention

de recevoir l'Envoyé de Russie avec tous les honneurs prescrits par l'étiquette Orientale. Ce que voyant, Mahomed Khan, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre à la Cour de l'Amir, aurait déclaré que son Gouvernement considérerait cet acte comme une offense. L'Amir ayant persisté dans sa décision, l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre aurait démandé ses passeports et quitté Caboul."

No. 295.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 583.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December* 6, 1876.

M. MARINOVITCH, ex-President of the Council of Ministers in Servia, has arrived here on a special mission from Prince Milan, and has been received by the Emperor.

The object of M. Marinovitch's visit is twofold; to inform the Imperial Government of the state of affairs in Servia, and to ascertain what assistance the Imperial Government will be disposed to afford in case of a renewal of hostilities.

It appears that M. Ristich was at first designated for this mission, but that the Emperor declined to receive him, on account of his advanced "Omladina" principles, and of his having been at the head of the Ministry when war was declared by Servia against the express advice of the Emperor.

M. Marinovitch gives a lamentable account of the present state of affairs in Servia. He has expressed the urgent necessity for Servia to conclude peace, and her inability to renew the war. He desires nothing better for his country than for it to resume the same position it held previous to the war, and to profit by the severe lesson which it has lately undergone.

He informs me that his stay here will be for some three weeks, which I interpret as signifying that he will await here the result of the Conference at Constantinople, and should it happily lead to the conclusion of peace, it is probable that M. Marinovitch will be charged by Prince Milan, on his return to Belgrade, with the formation of a new Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 296.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 586.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December* 6, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship, a leading article from the "Agence Russe" on the Eastern complications, which is undoubtedly of official inspiration, and from the moderation of its tone is worthy of attention.

It commences by referring to a previous declaration that while considering an occupation as one of the guarantees the most efficacious and practical, Russia did not intend to impose her view on the other Powers, nor to consider this as the only means of obtaining the desired aim; and that consequently Russia would willingly adhere to any other means equally efficacious which might be proposed.

It states that there is reason to believe that the Foreign Cabinets have been officially informed of this loyal and frank declaration of the Imperial policy, which leaves no doubt of the rectitude of its intentions.

The article then proceeds to say that, after the assurances given by the Emperor, no advantage can be derived by, but rather a heavy charge imposed on, Russia, by a provisional occupation of the Christian provinces of the Balkan, and as for military glory Russia does not require it.

The English and Russian Governments, it proceeds to say, are agreed both on the necessity of reforms, and on the necessity for some guarantee for their execution.

The only point of divergence between them is the *modus agendi;* and the article then seeks to prove that the spirit of the Treaty of 1856 requires the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as an European necessity,—whilst the letter of the Treaty on the one hand requires the independence of the Porte, on the other hand the welfare of the Christian population is placed under the protectorate of the Guaranteeing Powers.

I believe that the article gives a very correct idea of the views of the Imperial Government, and of the course which they will take in the approaching Conference at Constantinople, and it appears to me as intended to prepare the public mind for a renunciation of the idea of occupying Bulgaria.

Although there continues to be much excitement in the public mind, and a warlike feeling in general, there is an apparent desire on the part of the Imperial Government to moderate and appease the national feeling, as is evinced by the annexed article, and I am disposed to hope that the attitude of the Russian Plenipotentiary in the Conference will be of a more conciliatory and yielding character than is generally expected.

There are many motives which must necessarily influence the Imperial Government in desiring a peaceful issue to the Conference, and among them the financial difficulties which must ensue in the event of war. The failure of the Minister of Finance in regard to the internal loan of 100,000,000 roubles is not encouraging for a country reduced to depend entirely on its own resources, and without the hope of being able to contract a loan in foreign countries.

I am further informed that the Emperor only lately expressed his strong desire for the maintenance of peace, saying: "Je serais heureux si on peut trouver une garantie en dehors de l'occupation."

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 296.

Extract from the "Agence Russe" of December 6, 1876.

St. Pétersbourg, Mardi soir, le $\frac{21 \text{ Novembre}}{3 \text{ Décembre}}$ 1876.

NOUS disions l'autre jour que tout en considérant l'occupation comme une des garanties les plus réelles et les plus pratiques, la Russie ne prétendait pas imposer sa manière de voir aux autres Puissances, ni tenir ce moyen comme le seul propre à atteindre le but voulu; qu'en conséquence, elle se rallierait avec plaisir à tout autre procédé également efficace qui lui serait proposé.

Nous avons des raisons de croire que les Cabinets étrangers sont officiellement informés à cette heure de cette loyale et franche déclaration de la politique impériale, qui ne laisse plus peser sur la rectitude et la droiture de ses intentions le moindre soupçon, le moindre doute.

Du moment que, conformément aux solennelles déclarations de l'Empereur à Lord Loftus, la Russie ne doit et ne peut retirer de son occupation provisoire d'une partie quelconque des provinces Chrétiennes des Balkans aucun profit personnel, il va de soi qu'une pareille occupation n'est plus pour elle qu'une charge et même un inconvénient. Quant à de la gloire militaire, la Russie n'en a plus à chercher en Turquie et contre une pareille imputation protestent les lauriers bien autrement glorieux, recueillis pendant vingt années de règne consacrées aux progrès pacifiques et à la prospérité nationale.

Lors donc que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg vient compléter ses déclarations antérieures par celle qui précède, lorsqu'il vient dire notamment aux Puissances qu'il acceptera "avec plaisir" toute combinaison, également efficace, qui lui éviterait les inconvénients d'une occupation, non seulement il doit être cru, mais encore une déclaration aussi explicite de sa part implique pour les autres Puissances, pour celles surtout dont elle apaise les craintes, des devoirs nouveaux et une responsabilité plus grande. L'Angleterre notamment est tenue (les Anglais diraient "is entitled") à faire acte, de son côté, de bon vouloir et de sincérité.

En somme, les Gouvernements d'Angleterre et de Russie sont d'accord—on le sait—et sur la nécessité des améliorations à stipuler et sur la nécessité de leur garantie. Le seul point sur lequel il reste encore à s'établir est celui du *modus agendi*, c'est-à-dire, du moyen d'exécution de cette garantie. Or, cet accord complet serait depuis longtemps un fait accompli et ce moyen depuis longtemps trouvait n'était-ce la prétention du Cabinet de Londres—prétention trop évidemment erronée pour ne point prêter à suspicion—de concilier deux choses qui s'excluent, savoir, le principe abstrait de l'indépendance de la Porte, posé par le Traité de 1856, avec le fait réel des améliorations que les Puissances ont été obligées de lui imposer depuis et qu'elles se trouvent contraintes à lui imposer encore aujourd'hui.

Ici évidemment l'esprit du Traité de 1856 se trouve, par la force des choses, en opposition directe avec la lettre.

Que veut, que demande, que prescrit l'esprit de ce Traité? Il veut, il demande, il prescrit, l'existence, le maintien, l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman comme nécessité Européenne.

Que veut, que demande, que prescrit la lettre de ce Traité? Elle veut et prescrit, d'une part, l'indépendance de la Porte, d'autre part, le bien-être des populations Chrétiennes, mises sous la protection des Puissances Contractantes, et l'entente collective de celles-ci dans tout différend de ce chef avec la Turquie. On sait si cette dernière prescription a été scrupuleusement observée par la Russie.

Que veut maintenant, que demande, que prescrit l'intérêt souverain de l'Europe, c'est-à-dire, de la paix générale et l'intérêt même de la Turquie, dont l'impuissance à pratiquer les engagements contractés par elle en 1856, et à se maintenir dans les conditions d'ordre et de vitalité qui lui furent alors tracées, n'a pas cessé depuis d'être démontrée? Cet intérêt supérieur veut que ces conditions de vitalité, de durée, de maintien lui soient, bon gré mal gré, imposées. C'est comme combinaison nécessaire à l'Europe et pas pour elle-même, que la Turquie s'est vue entourée en 1856 de stipulations protectrices, et c'est comme telle encore qu'elle doit être protégée même contre ses propres excès, même contre sa propre faiblesse, même contre son mauvais vouloir ou son aveuglement.

C'est là ce que l'Europe se prépare à faire et ce qu'elle a déjà fait à deux reprises différentes. Mais, en ce faisant, l'Europe enfreint et a enfreint la lettre du Traité de Paris? Oui, certes; mais c'est pour en sauver, pour en pratiquer l'esprit.

Vaudrait-il mieux pour en respecter la lettre,—c'est-à-dire, l'indépendance de la Porte,—en violer l'esprit, en détruire l'essence, qui est toute entière dans le maintien, dans la conservation quand même de l'Empire Ottoman, en laissant cet Empire disparaître dans les flots de ses rébellions, de ses convulsions intérieures?

L'interprétation scrupuleuse des pratiques et des prétentions du Cabinet de Londres, aboutit à cette dernière conclusion.

L'interprétation scrupuleuse des pratiques et des prétentions du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg aboutit à la première.

D'où il suit que, en réalité, c'est la Russie qui est pour la conservation de l'Empire Ottoman et pour le respect du Traité de 1856, et le Cabinet de Londres qui, depuis l'origine de la crise et jusqu'ici, a été contre le maintien de cet Empire et contre ce Traité.

Le moment est assez grave pour inspirer de salutaires réflexions et conseiller des examens de conscience. Que les erreurs aient été volontaires ou accidentelles, il est encore temps, si non de les confesser du moins de les réparer. Le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg, par sa dernière déclaration, a donné la mesure et de ses dispositions conciliantes et de sa sincérité. Que le Cabinet de Londres en fasse autant et la crise Orientale, dont toute l'Europe n'a déjà que trop souffert, pourra bientôt avoir une fin.

No. 297.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 12.)

(No. 587.) *St. Petersburgh, December* 6, 1876.

My Lord,

I AM informed that the expectations entertained by the Minister of Finance in regard to the subscriptions to the Internal Loan of 100,000,000 have not been realized, notwithstanding the special appeal addressed by him to the patriotic feeling of the nation.

According to the annexed official notification the subscriptions amount to 123,500,000 roubles, to which the City of Moscow—the centre of the Slavonic agitation—has, I am told, only subscribed 9,000,000.

A large portion of the loan has been subscribed by Government institutions and the houses of Schroeder in London, and Mendelsohn at Berlin have also participated in it to a small amount.

The failure which has attended this experimental essay of the Finance Minister is likely to prove advantageous to the peace party, and, if I mistake not, will have great influence in moderating the demands of Russia in regard to the Eastern complications, as well as in appeasing the agitation in the country.

I have the honour to inclose an article from the "Official Gazette" referring to a

voluntary offer to His Imperial Majesty from the Exchange Committee of this Capital of a large increase in the annual tax paid by the several guilds, in reply to which they were informed that when His Majesty judged it necessary he would appeal to all the classes of the population, including the commercial class, to aid in carrying out the views of the Sovereign.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 297.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November 24/December 6, 1876.

BANQUE DE L'ETAT.

AVIS.—LA Banque de l'Etat a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance des personnes qui ont souscrit à la 4e émission de billets de Banque 5 pour cent que pour les 100,000,000 mis en souscription il a été souscrit la somme de 123,500,000 roubles.

En conséquence de quoi tous les souscripteurs qui ont demandé jusqu'à la somme de 1,000,000 inclusivement recevront intégralement le nombre de billets de Banque qu'ils ont demandé; pour ce qui est des 23,500,000 roubles qui ont dépassé le total de la souscription, ils seront déduits proportionnellement des souscriptions qui dépassent la somme de 1,000,000 par souscripteur.

Les premiers versements seront reçus à St. Pétersbourg à partir du 23 Novembre, tous les jours pendant une semaine; pour ce qui est des autres versements que l'on voudrait effectuer avant les termes fixés à cet effet, ils seront reçus une fois par semaine, les Jeudis, de 10 heures du matin à 3 heures de l'après-midi, à l'exception des jours de fête; des termes spéciaux seront fixés en temps voulu pour les souscripteurs de l'intérieur.

Le Gouverneur de la Banque,
(Signé) E. LAMANSKY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 297.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November 24/December 6, 1876.

ON lit dans le "Messager Officiel":—

"Les commerçants de la Bourse de St. Pétersbourg ayant exprimé le désir de concourir à la réalisation des mesures que Sa Majesté l'Empereur croira devoir prendre dans les circonstances politiques actuelles, le Comité de la Bourse et l'Assemblée Générale des Membres de la Bourse de St. Pétersbourg ont décidé de solliciter de Sa Majesté l'Empereur l'autorisation pour les commerçants de la Bourse de St. Pétersbourg qui ont pris un engagement à cet égard, de verser pour la formation d'un fonds spécial en cas de guerre, ou en général pour être employée aux besoins extraordinaires, une contribution volontaire de la valeur des droits de guilde perçus par l'Etat, à savoir 265 roubles pour les marchands de première guilde et 65 roubles pour les marchands de deuxième guilde, cette contribution devant être payée aussitôt la guerre déclarée et, si le Gouvernement le juge nécessaire, pendant cinq ans sur les bases qui seraient approuvées par le Ministre des Finances.

"Son Excellence M. le Ministre des Finances a eu l'honneur de porter cette demande à la connaissance de Sa Majesté l'Empereur. Après avoir accueilli avec bienveillance cette expression des sentiments de dévouement du commerce de la Bourse de St. Pétersbourg, Sa Majesté l'Empereur a daigné, le 12 Novembre, ordonner de remercier en son nom le commerce de St. Pétersbourg et de l'informer que lorsque Sa Majesté le jugera nécessaire elle appellera toutes les classes de la population, y compris les commerçants, à concourir à l'accomplissement des vues du Souverain.

No. 298.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 282. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, December 4, 1876.*

WHILST conversing with M. Contostavlos some days ago, in an entirely friendly and unofficial manner, respecting the Eastern question, he expressed his regret that there would be no representative of Hellenic interests at the Conferences which were about to be held at Constantinople.

I told him that it would, of course, be impossible to admit a Greek Plenipotentiary to a Conference exclusively composed of Representatives of the Powers parties to the Treaty of Paris of 1856; but that the Hellenic Government need not be prevented on that account from making any representation to the Conference which they might think fit.

Upon M. Contostavlos inquiring through whom such a representation could be made and suggesting Lord Salisbury or Sir Henry Elliot, I said that I thought it would, perhaps, be better to address it to the President of the Conference, whoever he might be, for communication to that body.

M. Contostavlos begged me to understand that he had not intended to make any request through me for the admission of a Greek Representative to the Conference, but merely to consult me, as a private friend, upon the proper mode of making the Conference acquainted with the wishes and wants of the Hellenic race.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 299.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Pest, December 11, 1876, 10·30 P.M.*

SPEAKING to the Russian Ambassador of General Ignatiew's proposal, I said that if the Porte accepted an European Commission, I should prefer, if I were a member of it, with view to my personal safety, the support of a Turkish force to one of 6,000 Europeans, and he answered, as a proof of the indirect influence of a small European force, that when European Commission in the Lebanon question went to Damascus, they give [*sic*] escort of Turkish troops to induce them to give up their intention of taking with them a division quartered at Beyrout.

To this I answered that 150,000 Russians on the Pruth and the English fleet at Besika Bay would probably have sufficient influence on the Porte to make it keep its engagements if it accepted in the Conference an European Commission, and undertook to escort it by a sufficient Turkish force to impose unpopular measures on population.

No. 300.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 12, 1876, 5·30 P.M.*

COLONEL LENNOX reports that a telegram has been received from Constantinople by a colleague that he and his colleagues are to arrange the armistice boundary between Turkey and Bosnia, in which case he would require new powers.

I should be glad to hear from your Excellency what is meant by this announcement.

No. 301.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Corbett.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 12, 1876, 6 P.M.*

THERE is no truth in the report alluded to in your telegram of the 10th.

No. 302.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 12, 1876, 6 P.M.*

IN reply to your telegram of the 10th instant, I will inquire of Lord Salisbury whether his telegram is to be held as strictly confidential or should be communicated in any degree to other Governments.

No. 303.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 12, 1876.*

A REPORT from Colonel Lennox, forwarded to your Lordship from Vienna yesterday, states that Austria will support wish of the Prince of Montenegro for a port. Count Andrassy, however, has always held different language to me, and said yesterday he hoped he had convinced Lord Salisbury of the inexpediency of giving His Highness a port, which would open a coast to Russia, and become a nest of smugglers and lawless adventurers. The free navigation of the river, he thinks, ought to be granted to the Prince.

No. 304.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13.)

(No. 6.)
(Decypher.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, November 31, 1876.*

I HAVE been informed that sickness is on the increase in the camp at Alexandropol, all the hospitals being full; also that provisions are obtained there with difficulty, the roads being bad. The officers in the Caucasus have been receiving double pay, viz., war-pay, since the 1st of this month. Whether the troops lately arrived at Poti are to remain there I cannot say. It is said that a garrison is to be placed there.

There is a fair road leading from Nicolai, near Batum, on the Black Sea, by Ozurget to Kutais, distant about fifty-six miles. This information might be, perhaps, useful.

Fifteen hundred men are reported to have lately passed from the Vladikaukaz to the frontier; with the exception of these, and those arrived at Poti, I have not heard of any other reinforcements having gone thither, as yet; it must, however, be recollected that the troops coming from Russia for the Turkish frontier do not pass by Tiflis.

The inhabitants are leaving Sukhum Kalé and Nicolai, near Batum.

Rising of the Mussulman Abkases, near Sukhum Kalé, is, it is said, feared in the event of war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. RICKETTS.

No. 305.

Mr. Corbett to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13.)

(No. 119.)
My Lord, *Berne, December 11, 1876.*

REFERRING to the telegram which I had the honour to address to your Lordship yesterday relative to the enrolments which it is reported are being made by Her Majesty's Government on the Swiss frontier, I beg to say that, although I feel assured that if such proceedings had been undertaken I should have been informed of them, still I was induced to mention the subject, as I received information from Alsace that many Alsaciens are leaving that district, to take military service in England; and, it is added, that the German gendarmes were placing obstacles in the way of their doing so.

Applications have again been addressed to this Legation by individuals desirous of entering the British service, as occurred a few months ago when reports were current that

enrolments were being made at Belfort. I have answered all who apply to me that I have no reason to suppose that any such enrolments are contemplated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWIN CORBETT.

No. 306.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Rome, December 12, 1876, 4·30 P.M.*

WITH reference to the proposed employment of a Swiss [sic] and Belgian corps, under the orders of the Commission of Execution, until the formation of a local militia, Italian Government think it would be more practical and expeditious to take 6,000 Roumanian troops (which may be looked upon as forming a Christian branch of the Turkish army) for this service, and have so instructed their Minister at Constantinople; but have told him also not to oppose any proposal which may be likely to secure adoption in the Conference.

No. 307.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13, 2·3 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 13, 1876, 12·15 P.M.*

IT was agreed by the Representatives that Montenegrin Commission should make arrangements about armistice with the insurgents in Bosnia, and the Commission was instructed to proceed to complete them.

I cannot think that Colonel Lennox requires new powers.

No. 308.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13, 2·12 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 13, 1876, noon.*

COLONEL HOME has completed the survey of positions, and hopes to have his plans ready by next messenger.

He is extremely satisfied with the line, which he says could be held against any force by fifty-five thousand men.

The works absolutely necessary could be completed in six weeks.

No. 309.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 13, 1876, 5·20 P.M.*

FOLLOWING telegram has been received from Lord Salisbury:—

"Saving special exigency, I think that my reports of the progress of the negotiations here should only be communicated to the Cabinet and not to other Governments."

You should not, therefore, communicate with Italian Government as to employment of Italian troops, as suggested in your telegram of the 10th instant.

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* Repeated to Lord Salisbury.

No. 310.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13, 7 P.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 13, 1876, 6·30 P.M.*

FOLLOWING from Monson:—

"The demarcation Commission has signed the final Protocol and dispersed. Colonel Lennox has gone to Trieste by last night's steamer."

No. 311.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, December 13, 1876.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW'S proposals have met with approval at Berlin, and the German Government are prepared to support any arrangement on which England and Russia can agree.

Great reliance is placed in Lord Salisbury's judgment.

No. 312.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Most Confidential.) *Pest, December 13, 1876.*

THE copy of a telegram from the Emperor of Russia to the Duchess of Edinburgh (has been?) received here, expressing His Majesty's satisfaction with the applause which a reference to his policy in the Eastern question met with at the recent meeting in London, while alleged views of Prime Minister were condemned; and states that His Majesty is hopeful that General Ignatiew will be able to come to an agreement with Lord Salisbury.

No. 313.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 14.)

No. 7.)
(Decypher.) *Tiflis, December 1, 1876.*

My Lord,

FIVE hundred Russian troops arrived at Porti on 30th instant (sic) by steamer. A large detachment (number not yet ascertained) arrived at Tiflis yesterday.

The Abkases near Sukhum Kale have, it is said, broken out and commenced plundering the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. S. RICKETTS.

No. 314.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 14.)

(No. 249. Political.) *Ragusa, December 5, 1876.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 118 of the 8th, and 122 of the 9th of August last, respecting the execution by the Turks at Drieno of two Herzegovinian refugees who had been employed in the Transport service, I have the honour to state that the Turkish Consul-General here received the day before yesterday a letter from Constant Pasha, to the effect that the Porte, on the representations of Her Majesty's Ambassador, had ordered him to make an inquiry into the matter. His Excellency said that he know nothing, and could learn nothing about it, and begged the Consul-General to ask me for details.

* Repeated to Constantinople.

I was not able to give any more information than that which I originally furnished to your Lordship: nor is it likely that, now that four months have elapsed, and that the garrison of the fort at Driono, numbering, I believe, barely a company, may have been repeatedly changed, it will be possible for Constant Pasha to obtain any.

The intention of the Porte in causing an inquiry to be made is undoubtedly praiseworthy; but to arrive at any profitable result, such inquiries should be ordered at once; the lapse of a third of a year since the occurrence of the event to be investigated rendering it improbable that any evidence will be forthcoming, however honestly hunted up.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 315.

Colonel Lennox to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 14.)

(Confidential.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, December 6, 1876.*

WHILE engaged in marking out the line of demarcation during the Armistice, the Commission had occasion to pass through Cettingé, where we had an audience of the Prince of Montenegro, by whom we were also entertained at dinner.

I consider it advisable to report, for your Lordship's information, the substance of a conversation which the Prince held with me after dinner on the 3rd instant.

I must first mention that I informed the Prince that I was employed only as a soldier, and had not anything to say with respect to diplomatic affairs.

The Prince said that it must be evident to everyone who looked at the map, that Montenegro could not be satisfied with its present boundaries, and that he must take advantage of every convenient opportunity to enlarge his Principality until he had a suitable frontier. He said that Montenegro was not such a barbarous country as it was supposed to be, but it was poor, and that it had not sufficient cultivable land, and had moreover no outlet to the sea.

I enquired what His Highness considered would be a suitable boundary, and said that I fancied that Austria would not consent to his having the Suttorina with an outlet there to the Bocche di Cattaro.

The Prince said that he did not want the Suttorina, but wished his frontier to extend along the river Susica, (to the south of Klobuk), to its junction with the river Trebinjéica, and along that river northward to its source, and then along the road leading to Korito and Cruica (the road to be common to both countries), and after that to follow the line of demarcation laid down by the Commission to Dioclea; with the exception that the small triangular piece near Kolásin, left outside the line of demarcation by the Commission, should be given to Montenegro. The Prince said that from Dioclea the river Moréca should be the boundary down to Scutari Lake. To the south of Lake Scutari he would like to see his boundary follow the line of demarcation laid down by the Commission, (viz., from between Sistan and Murie up to Skala,) produced to the sea, so as to give him either Antivari or Spicá as a port.

I mentioned that, while travelling as an unknown individual between Vienna and Ragusa, the conversation with others had turned upon the Montenegrin question, and that people seemed to say that it would never do to let Montenegro have a port, as it would only become a Russian harbour.

His Highness said that he would bind himself not to allow a man-of-war of any Power to enter his port if he had one.

He also said that if he had Spuz (near Podgoritza), he would demolish the fortifications around it. He observed, in conclusion, that he wanted a compact territory, and that he looked to England to see justice done to him.

When leaving the room a few minutes afterwards the Prince came up to me and begged that I would tell Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople that Montenegro only wanted justice.

On the 5th I had a conversation with the Austrian Delegate, who informed me, in confidence, that he was instructed that Austria would never consent to allow Montenegro to have the Suttorina, and mentioned that he had told the Prince so. The Austrian Delegate also told me that his Government would, he believed, consent

to an extension of the Montenegrin territory to the west, but not probably to the extent of the line of demarkation. He also said that he entertained the conviction that his Government would not object to the frontier to the east being the Moracé, or to the extension asked for by the Prince to the south of Lake Scutari, including the Port of Spica or Antivari on the sea. My Austrian colleague informed me that he had received very full verbal instructions before he left Vienna.

I inclose a map, on which I have shown by a red line the frontier, according to what I gathered to be the Prince's views.

The yellow line on the same plan gives the extent to which I understand the Austrian Government would not object.

The only routes I travelled over in Montenegro were, that from Rjeka to Cettingé, and thence to Cattaro. The mountains are almost impassable, and if those I traversed are fair specimens of the rest, it is very evident that it will ever be a difficult matter for a force to penetrate into Montenegro.

Every pocket among the mountains that can contain earth appears to have been used for cultivation, even if miles away from any habitations. This would lead one to suppose that more cultivable land is a necessity for the people.

I would venture to suggest, that if some open country, such as that around Spuz, and also a seaport, were given to the Montenegrins, it would greatly diminish the chances of their making war, as they would then be vulnerable on the plain and on the coast, while they are now almost invulnerable.

I am aware that it may be considered that, in writing as I have, I have touched upon matters foreign to my mission, but they seem to me to be of sufficient importance to be brought before your Lordship's notice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM LENNOX.

No. 316.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Corbett.

(No. 48.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 14, 1876.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 119 of the 11th instant, respecting the rumours which you state are in circulation as to enrolments being made by Her Majesty's Government upon the Swiss frontier.

I have already, in reply to your telegram of the 10th instant, informed you that there is no foundation for the report above referred to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 317.

Memorandum by Mr. Hertslet as to the channel through which a Country not being represented at a European Conference should bring to the knowledge of the Powers assembled in Conference any matters which might affect its interests.

DURING the sitting of the Conferences between the Representatives of the Seven Powers assembled at Paris in 1856 respecting the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Plenipotentiary of France, who was President of the Conference, stated at the second sitting that he had received from the Agent of the United Principalities a communication announcing to him that the Provisional Government of Bucharest had named Messrs. Charles Talcoymo and John Bratiano as its Delegates to the Conference; and he read to the Conference a letter which M. Bratiano had addressed to him in his own name and in that of his colleague asking to be allowed to give utterance, in presence of the Conference, to the aspirations and real wants of the Moldo-Wallachian populations.

Protocol No. 2, March 19, 1856. State Papers, Vol. 47, p. 537.

The Plenipotentiaries deliberated on this request, and decided that it could not be entertained; but it was placed on record that each of the Plenipotentiaries would be prepared to receive all communications, whether written or verbal, that the Delegates might think fit to make to them by way of information.

Again, when the Black Sea Conferences were about to be held in London, in 1870, Count Bismarck informed Lord Odo Russell that he would be glad if Lord Granville would allow the Prince of Roumania to submit to the Conference a Memorandum of his

Confidential Paper 1091, pp. 156, 185. December 19, 1870.

grievances which he had already addressed to all the Sovereigns of Europe (with the exception of Turkey) who were Parties to the Treaty of Paris. But Lord Granville replied that he saw great objections to extending the deliberations to other subjects beyond the neutralization of the Black Sea and the questions immediately arising out of it; and the Russian Government held the same objections.

Confidential Paper 1901, page 157.

The following is an account of what passed in 1856:—

Count Walewski, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, was President of the Conferences held in Paris between February and April, 1856.

No. 2, Protocol, February 28, 1856.

At the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries, on the 28th February, the question was raised as to the advisability of admitting Prussia to the Conference, she having taken no part in the war against Russia; and, at the sitting of the 10th March, Count Walewski, the President, expressed an opinion that at the point at which the negotiations had then arrived, the moment had come to invite Prussia to send Representatives to the Congress, and he proposed to adopt and forward to Berlin a resolution which he read to the Conference inviting Prussia to join, and which was approved by the Congress.

No. 7, Protocol, March 10, 1856.

No. 9, Protocol, March 14, 1856.

At the sitting of the 14th March, Count Walewski announced that, in reply to the communication which he had been charged to forward to Berlin, as organ of the Congress, he had been informed that Prussia accepted the invitation which had been addressed to her, and had named her Plenipotentiaries; and on the sitting of the 18th Count Walewski announced the arrival of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries in Paris.

Blue Book, Turkey and Greece: 1868–69.

Page 28.

In December 1868 it was proposed that a Conference should be held between the Powers parties to the Treaty of Paris of 1856, for the purpose of taking into consideration and, if possible, providing a remedy for the critical state of relations which then existed between Turkey and Greece.

To Lord Lyons; December 23, 1868, page 29.

In a despatch which Lord Clarendon addressed to Lord Lyons, his Lordship stated that it would be impossible to exclude the Porte from taking part in the Conference, as it was a party to the Treaty of 1856, by which incident it was brought within the pale of European politics. He added that it would be difficult to admit the Porte and to exclude Greece; but he pointed out that, nevertheless, Greece would, under the Treaty of Paris, have no *locus standi* in a Conference composed of Powers who were parties to it.

From Lord Lyons, December 27, 1868, page 48.

With the view of overcoming this difficulty, the French Government suggested that the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers who signed the Treaty of 1856 should meet in Conference, and should agree to invite immediately a Representative of Greece to be present at their sittings, and to take part in the discussions, with a "voix consultative."

To Sir A. Buchanan, December 31, 1868. Page 57.

The Russian Government expressed its regret that the Greek Representative would only be admitted to have a "voix consultative" at the Conference, and a hope that in the arrangement proposed there was no intention of humiliating Greece.

Lord Clarendon at once disclaimed any such intention, and informed Baron Brunnow that, although a different form of invitation would be addressed to Athens, it was manifestly impossible that the business of the Conference could be carried on in the absence of a Greek Representative, who would have the fullest opportunity for stating his case.

To Mr. Erskine, January 11, 1869. Page 96.

The Greek Representative still declined to attend, except on an equal footing with the Turkish Plenipotentiary, though the British and French Governments tried to persuade the Greek Government to reconsider its resolution.

The Representatives of the following Powers: Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, accordingly met in Conference at Paris. The Marquis de Lavalette, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, presided; and, at their first meeting on the 9th January, 1869, it was placed on record that Greece had been invited to join the Conference, with a consultative voice, but that she had declined.

M. Rangabé was introduced at the request of the Russian Plenipotentiary and read out a letter *which he had addressed to the President*, stating that he could only take part in the deliberations on a footing of entire equality with the Turkish Ambassador.

Page 151.

The Conference then proceeded, and a place was reserved for Greece, but the Hellenic Government refused to occupy it, except on a footing of complete equality with Turkey.

Page 180.

At the last sitting of the Conference a letter was read from the Hellenic Government *to the President* of the Conference in reply to a communication which the *President had been charged to make* to it, and in this letter the King's Government announced its adhesion to the general principles of international jurisprudence contained in the Declaration of the Conference.

Page 219.

It would, I think, appear from the foregoing that the proper course for a Power to adopt which has no Representative at an European Conference, but wishes to lay certain statements affecting its interests before the Plenipotentiaries, would be to make an identic but separate communication to each of the Powers represented at the Conference. I think this would be preferable to writing to the President of the Conference direct, as, according to the precedents quoted, he would appear only to act as the organ of the Conference when requested by the Representatives to do so.

(Signed) E. HERTSLET.

Foreign Office, December 14, 1876.

No. 318.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Scutari, December 14, 1876.*

TURKISH Commander-in-chief has just informed me that the Montenegrin Commanders have refused to abide by the demarcation of the Commission, and that they are doing all in their power to bring about a conflict by sending their men close under the walls of Spuz and Podgoritza.

I have urged his Excellency to give the strictest orders that forces at the frontier are, notwithstanding infraction of (?) territory, to avoid all conflicts, and he has promised that not a shot shall be fired against attack.

His Excellency is of opinion that Montenegrins wish to break off the armistice, in order to avoid revictualling of Nichsich.

Telegraphed to Constantinople.

No. 319.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 35. Political.)

Erzeroom, November 11, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that Moussa Pasha, the recognised Chief of the Circassians in Koordistan, has arrived here from Sivas to offer his services and the services of the Circassians to the Government.

Samih Pasha tells me that Moussa Pasha offered a short time since to bring to the aid of the Government 20,000 Circassians, but the offer was declined; and that he has no instructions to accept now.

I have, however, heard from several persons that the offer has been accepted, and that Moussa Pasha has come here to arrange with the Commander-in-chief the organization and disposal of these hordes.

If my information that the Circassians are to be employed is correct, I very much fear Armenia will be very soon reduced to the unhappy condition of Bulgaria, and the Porte will learn too late that instead of aid its auxiliaries will have only added to its difficulties and dangers.

The Government is well aware that the population of this Province, Mussulmans equally with Christians, dread the Circassians, and that this dread is well founded the Government knows equally well. To put arms, therefore, into the hands of the Circassians, and to give them authority to collect in bodies, will be a very dangerous experiment, so dangerous that I do not think it ought to be tried, as no circumstances could justify the employment of men whose sole idea of making war consists in the free exercise of every vice which cruelty, lust, and fanaticism can conceive.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 320.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 36. Political.)

Erzeroom, November 10, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch I have addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, in which I give Colonel McGregor's opinion of Kars as a

fortified position, and of the country between Kars and Erzeroom from a military point of view.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

Inclosure in No. 320.

Consul Zohrab to Sir H. Elliot.

Erzeroom, November 10, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that Colonel McGregor, of the Indian Army, having had to stay here some days to await the arrival of horses to convey him to Baghdad, took advantage of the time at his disposal to pay a flying private visit to Kars. He has returned, and leaves this to-morrow for Djizireh, on his way to Baghdad.

Colonel McGregor tells me that, though the view he had of the fortifications of Kars was very superficial, yet he saw quite enough to make him regard them as very strong, and that if Kars were properly garrisoned it would prove a formidable obstacle to an enemy, but it would require at least 20,000 good soldiers properly found and commanded by efficient officers to make it capable of resistance.

Colonel McGregor is of my opinion that the whole country from the Russian frontier to Erzeroom is open to the Russians, who, after placing a small force to mask Kars with its garrison of eight battalions, could march on Erzeroom.

From Kars to Erzeroom the country offers many most advantageous points for a defending force to hold, and Colonel McGregor tells me it would be very doubtful whether an enemy in superior numbers would be able to push forward against a properly led force which held the country.

No such force, however, exists, and it is too late now for the Government to concentrate such a corps.

The roads are being rapidly closed by snow, and the Turks will have, should war be declared, to trust for the defence of this province to about forty battalions of badly disciplined unwilling infantry, and to the hordes of Bashi-Bazouks which may be hurriedly collected in the spring.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 321.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 37. Political.)

Erzeroom, November 13, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE to report that a Committee of the leading members of the Mussulmans of this town has been formed, having for its object the creation of volunteer battalions from amongst the inhabitants, Mussulman and Christian, of this Province.

The Committee is now engaged in drawing up plans for the enrolment and organization of these battalions.

The consent of the Government has not yet been obtained to this movement, but it is is to be asked for as soon as the Committee are persuaded it can be carried out.

So far as I have been as yet able to learn the Christians are pleased with the idea of having arms confided to them, and of being called on to join in the defence of the country, and I expect there will be a good many volunteers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 322.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 38. Political.)

Erzeroom, November 13, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE been informed that some of the leading Mussulmans here have secretly sent a petition to Constantinople, complaining of Samih Pasha, and asking for his dismissal.

I am not surprised that the fanatical portion of the Mussulmans, and in this category must be included the majority of the higher classes, are inimical to his Excellency, as the friendliness and consideration he shows for the Christians and his protection of them must be very galling to them. I trust, however, that the Porte will pay no attention to complaints which are founded on no just foundations, and are dictated alone by bigotry. Samih Pasha is certainly not a perfect type of what a Vali should be, but he is so far superior to most of the Governors I have met in Turkey that I may say very few equal him in excellence, and I should deeply regret his departure from this. As regards the Christians, his removal would be regarded by them as a calamity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 323.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 39. Political.)

Erzeroom, November 13, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that orders have been received here not to draw the conscription for the years 1874 and 1875, but to pass all the men who have to ballot for these two years for service in the active army into the reserve, and at once call them under arms.

By this plan the Government will secure a large number of raw recruits, but the country will suffer severely, for it will absorb nearly every able-bodied man.

The Government foresees that the measure will cause severe distress, and that thousands of families will be left destitute, and to alleviate this distress, the Government undertakes to make an allowance of 30 piastres per month to every poor family which will be left without male protectors.

This small sum might help poor families a little, but as it is more than probable, that if the Government finds the means to adhere to its promise, and gives the money the amounts payable to poor families will be so reduced during their transit through the hands of the many officials, who will have the control and distribution of the money, that no appreciable relief will result from the measure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 324.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 40. Political. Confidential.)

Erzeroom, November 13, 1876.

My Lord,

THE transport of ammunition and provisions to Kars and Ardahan continues with increased activity. Samih Pasha informed me to-day, that in a few days there would be about 22,000 quarters of grain in Kars.

His Excellency had also given orders for the immediate preparation of one month's supply of Kavoorma (fried meat); and secret instructions have been issued for the slaughter and salting down of all the oxen, cows, sheep, and goats belonging to Kars the instant Kars is threatened by the Russians.

His Excellency is likewise calling up every available battalion from the interior, and the last category of reserves, the sinfi tani, are being enrolled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 325.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 15.)

(No. 41. Political.)

Erzeroom, December 14, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE just been informed that Samih Pasha received yesterday an offer from some of the Chiefs of the district of Djezireh, to bring up to Erzeroom 20,000 horsemen.

His Excellency was disposed to accept the offer; but finding, on reflection, that it would be impossible to accommodate such a force, he has replied, through the Governor-General of Diarbekir, that the men be kept ready to march, but not to move till further orders.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 326.

Consul Zohrab to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 15.)

(No. 42. Political.)

Erzeroom, November 15, 1876.

My Lord,

THE unwillingness with which the Redifs enter on active service, has just been clearly demonstrated, by two battalions of infantry which arrived here yesterday, one from Seerd, and one from Van.

The battalion from Seerd lost 200 men by desertion on the road; and the one from Van 180 men.

It is only the strong and active who can venture on desertion, as not daring to return to their villages; deserters must take to the hills, and live by brigandage. Such a life requires a robust constitution, and sound courage; and, consequently the men who remain faithful to their flag, are generally those who are not fit to undergo the hardships of a campaign.

With Turkish soldiers desertion does not arise from cowardice, but from unwillingness to fight in a cause which has become hateful to them.

Oppression and authorized exactions, which have made beggars of the peasantry, have expelled all feelings of loyalty and devotion to the Throne; hence, the classes from which the army is formed, are averse to the service, and can only be brought into it by compulsion.

When under the flag, the hardships, the sufferings, the privations, and the robbery to which the men are subjected, through the venality of dishonest, ignorant, and irresponsible officers, create a hatred for the service, which neither patriotism nor fanaticism can overcome; and thus, the thousands who annually leave the army and enter the reserve lists, become men who will resort to any means to avoid re-entering active service; and in time of war, the country becomes overrun by robber bands, composed of men who have either fled from their villages to escape being enrolled, or who have deserted from the ranks.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. ZOHRAB.

No. 327.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 15.)

(No. 1315.)

Constantinople, November 20, 1876.

My Lord,

IN case your Lordship's attention should not have been called to a letter published in the "Cologne Gazette" from the correspondent of that paper, giving a report of a conversation with General Ignatiew, I have the honour to inclose a translation of it, taken from the "Journal des Débats."

It is right for me to state, in forwarding it, that I understand General Ignatiew to deny the correctness of the report of the conversation, and that he appears conscious that the propriety of an Ambassador holding such language to a newspaper correspondent

within two days of the acceptance by the Porte of the ultimatum of his Government must appear questionable.

I must, however, also add that not only the sense, but the very expressions reported are precisely those which have been frequently used by the Russian Ambassador to myself and to my colleagues.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 327.

Extract from the "Stamboul" November 26, 1876.

UNE ENTREVUE AVEC LE GÉNÉRAL IGNATIEW.—Le "Journal des Débats" a pris dans la "Gazette de Cologne" la relation d'une entrevue d'un des correspondants de cette feuille avec l'Ambassadeur Russe.

Il nous semble que le résumé de cette conversation est d'autant plus intéressant pour ceux qui connaissent la diplomate interlocuteur.

Voici la traduction donnée par le "Journal des Débats:—

Le Général causait avec le Chargé d'Affaires, M. de Nélidoff; lorsqu'il eut fini, sans plus de cérémonie, il me tendit la main. Nous entrâmes dans son cabinet de travail, et tout aussitôt il m'entretint de la question de démarcation, pénétrant ainsi *in medias res*.

Les Turcs, dit-il, nous conduisent par le nez d'une singulière façon. Après que la diplomatie s'est fatiguée pendant plusieurs mois à amener un armistice, ils veulent maintenant que leurs derrières soient assurés du côté de la Serbie et du Monténégro, conserver le droit d'agir par le feu et l'épée dans la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, et continuer leurs massacres. Ils consentent à l'établissement d'une zone neutre pour les deux premiers pays seulement, afin de pouvoir faire sentir le poids de leur colère, sous la garantie des Puissances, à ceux qui se sont les premiers soulevés contre leur insupportable joug. Si je n'avais pas signifié d'*ultimatum*, sait-on combien de temps nous aurions dû encore employer à discuter cette question? Mais les Turcs ont du respect pour un *ultimatum* comme pour tout acte énergique. C'est le faible de la diplomatie Européenne que de croire qu'elle peut agir efficacement au Bosphore avec la douceur et la conciliation. Il ne faut pas traiter les Turcs comme les peuples de l'Occident.

Lorsque je revins de Livadia, je demandai à mon collègue Elliot, surpris comme je l'étais: Que s'est-il donc passé? Qu'avez-vous donc fait en mon absence? Toutes choses ne sont-elles pas en état où je les ai laissées? A quoi ont servi vos cataplasmes et vos purgatifs (*abfuehr mittel*)?

Le Turcs ont été les plus habiles. Pendant que les diplomates, sous la direction de l'Angleterre, cherchaient une solution honorable pour les deux parties, ils ne voulaient eux que gagner du temps, mettaient en avant un fanatisme Musulman artificiellement excité, prétextaient des tendances au massacre dans la capitale et les provinces, insistaient sur les dispositions populaires qu'on ne pouvait heurter de front sans danger par des concessions, bref se présentaient à l'Europe comme les victimes d'une diplomatie qui voulait annuler d'un trait de plume ce que l'épée avait conquis. Il n'y avait cependant pas lieu, à cette époque, de se vanter des succès militaires.

Les Turcs ont maintenant, grâce à leurs agissements, pris Alexinitz, et c'est pour eux un avantage militaire incontestable. Pour nous, cela ne modifie pas le moins du monde la situation; au contraire, nous sommes encore plus disposés et plus contraints à insister sur les demandes Anglaises. Lorsque celles-ci ont été rédigées et proposées par Lord Derby, nous les avons immédiatement approuvées, en ajoutant toutefois: "Veuillez seulement à ce qu'elles soient appliquées."

On sait que la Porte les a repoussées comme le *nec plus ultra* des exigences inadmissibles, et l'on croit maintenant dans la presse que la diplomatie est disposée à adopter la ligne de retraite que lui a offerte Midhat Pacha, en réduisant ses réformes pour tout l'Empire. C'est insensé.

Les diplomates ne peuvent se reconnaître battus et plier leurs voiles, eux, les représentants de l'Europe civilisée, eux, les défenseurs de projets mûris et approuvés par les Puissances, devant les scrupules d'un Gouvernement qui jusqu'à présent n'a pas fait le moindre cas du bien-être de ses sujets. En admettant que cela ait été possible, cela ne l'est plus maintenant. Le sang Russe a coulé récemment en abondance près d'Alexinitz, et cela nous lie maintenant les mains et restreint jusqu'à un certain point

la liberté d'action diplomatique que nous avons jusqu'à présent possédé aux yeux de notre peuple. Il faut que vous sachiez que chez les Russes le souvenir de l'invasion Tartare est encore vivace. Notre peuple ne fait pas de politique. Il vit dans ses traditions, et celles-ci l'ont entretenu et l'entretiennent encore de l'oppression et de l'arbitraire des conquérants Tartares.

Aussi, dès que les Turcs répandent maintenant du sang Slave, une agitation se produit en Russie, ses traditions l'entretiennent, et il y a danger d'incendie. Il y a en Serbie des volontaires qui ont quitté la Sibérie, et ont vendu ce qu'ils possédaient pour défendre leurs frères de race.

Arrêter ces volontaires était pour nous une chose impossible, car ils étaient pour ainsi dire la soupape de sûreté qui permettait à l'enthousiasme de se manifester. Dans la maison de Sir H. Elliot, on a appelé, d'un ton de reproche, mon attention sur leur nombre. Je demandai combien ils étaient, et on me répondit: 10,000. Je voudrais qu'ils fussent 100,000 et 200,000, ai-je répondu. La question d'Orient serait d'autant plus tôt résolue. Maintenant que 2,000 Russes ont trouvé la mort à Alexinatz, je ne réponds plus de rien. La condescendance montrée par la Porte en ce qui touche mon *ultimatum* d'avant-hier retardera un peu l'explosion du mécontentement général; mais, si plus tard, les justes demandes des Slavs de Turquie et les efforts de la diplomatie n'amènent aucun résultat par suite de l'obstination de la caste qui gouverne, les soupapes ne suffiront plus, et il se produira une explosion en face de laquelle, nous, diplomates, nous serons sans force.

Le Général avait parlé d'un trait, avec rapidité et animation, les yeux fixés sur les miens, et rappelant mon attention, lorsque celle-ci paraissait absente, en posant la main sur mon bras. Sur sa physionomie, on pouvait lire ses paroles, et ses regards réalisaient le désir de connaître l'effet qu'elles produisaient. C'était en Français mêlé de Germanismes et d'Anglicismes qu'il s'exprimait, et sa personne et ses paroles portaient l'empreinte de la franchise. Quoi qu'on puisse penser de sa politique, il est le représentant de la nouvelle école de diplomates; M. de Werther était celui de l'ancienne. Mais je n'eus guère le temps de l'observer.

Ne croyez-vous, lui demandai-je, que la Porte doit refuser l'autonomie aux Bulgares par égard pour les Grecs? La situation des deux peuples est différente, me répondit-il. Ce qui pour les Bulgares est une question sociale est pour les Grecs une question politique. Ceux-ci pensent toujours à la "grande idée," au rétablissement de l'Empire Byzantin qu'ils voudraient voir renaître sur les ruines de l'Empire Ottoman. Leurs membres du monument ne sont que feintes Byzantines. Ils n'aiment pas les Bulgares, en qui ils voient des rivaux pour la possession de la Thrace et de Constantinople, et ne veulent pas leur laisser le seul moyen, que nous demandons pour eux, de sortir de leur misère sociale et d'arriver à la prospérité matérielle. En ce qui me concerne, je voudrais que cette question de l'autonomie Bulgare fût dépouillée de sa signification politique, et fût traitée comme une proposition d'intérêt social pur. C'est, en effet, la situation sociale et la liberté individuelle des Bulgares qui doivent être améliorées, et il ne s'agit point de leur situation et de leur liberté politiques. Quand la Turquie était encore un grand Etat militaire et puissant, une pareille nouveauté ne pouvait être adoptée sans qu'on lui donnât un caractère politique. Mais maintenant que l'armée Ottomane suffit à peine pour vaincre les troupes d'un petit Etat vassal, et quelques officiers Russes, ce serait une ironie de se placer à un autre point de vue que celui de l'intérêt social.

Ce que nous devons exiger tout d'abord pour arriver à augmenter la liberté individuelle des Bulgares, c'est le désarmement de tous les Mahométans, qui n'ont été jusqu'à présent qu'une menace perpétuelle pour la vie et la propriété des Chrétiens. Si l'on nous refuse ce désarmement, l'occupation aura lieu immédiatement, non seulement dans l'intérêt des Bulgares, mais dans celui de la Turquie, puisqu'elle empêchera le renouvellement des scènes de Batok et d'Otluk-Keuy.

En droit, cette mesure doit précéder la réunion de la Conférence. Qui nous garantit en effet que, si nous décidons quelque chose qui soit désagréable aux Mahométans, il ne se produira pas des massacres à l'intérieur? Comment pourrons-nous nous-mêmes prendre tranquillement des décisions si nous avons à redouter que nos résolutions puissent être fatales à d'innombrables Chrétiens? Vous le voyez, le désarmement ou l'occupation est nécessaire pour assurer à la Conférence sa liberté d'action.

A cette première exigence s'en rattache une seconde: l'autonomie locale et administrative de la Bosnie, de l'Herzégovine et de la Bulgarie. Vous connaissez les objections qui ont été faites par les Turcs et par les Anglais au sujet de la Bulgarie, comme nom et comme définition géographique. J'ai trouvé un moyen d'annuler ces

objections, ci je l'ai déjà indiqué à mes collègues: nous laisserons les Turcs eux-mêmes délimiter le nouveau district autonome.

Ce sont eux, en effet, qui savent le mieux où leur mauvaise administration les compromet, où ils ont brûlé les villages, massacré les habitants, et violé les femmes. Là où ces actes ont été commis, là est la Bulgarie, là il faut porter secours, là doit-être introduite l'autonomie. Parler de la Bulgarie, c'est parler d'amélioration et de progrès nécessaires. Si les Grecs prennent parti pour elle, il faut qu'ils admettent cette idée et y subordonnent leurs plaintes: si le nom leur déplaît, qu'ils en trouvent un autre s'ils veulent, mais que, dans leur égoïsme inactif, ils ne coupent pas les conduites qui contiennent l'eau nécessaire pour éteindre l'incendie qui dévore la maison du voisin. Nous autres diplomates, nous éteignons le feu où il existe. Jusqu'à présent, aucun signe d'incendie n'a été vu dans les provinces Grecques: c'est seulement au moment où nous nous préparions à venir activement en aide aux Bulgares, que les Grecs ont commencé à dire qu'on les laissait de côté et qu'on les négligeait. Croyez-moi, ils n'atteindront jamais leur but de cette façon, c'est-à-dire en combattant par égoïsme toute idée de réforme.

En ce qui touche la nouvelle Constitution préparée pour tout l'Empire, je n'ai encore rencontrée personne à qui elle n'ait arraché un sourire. Il est absolument impossible de la mettre à exécution; mais, alors même que cela se ferait, il n'y aurait rien de changé, car elle laisse le pouvoir à la majorité et la majorité est formée de Musulmans. La Chambre des Seigneurs doit être exclusivement composée des hauts dignitaires Musulmans, et la majorité de la Chambre des Députés doit être Musulmane. Pourquoi, du reste, après avoir fait avec la Porte, pendant cinquante ans, des expériences inutiles, devrions-nous encore une fois l'occasion favorable de mettre fin à un état de choses déplorable? Devons-nous nous laisser duper de nouveau par les sages de la Sublime Porte? Encore tout récemment, ils nous ont fait voir leurs tours d'escamoteurs. Il n'a pas été rédigé moins de six Notes différentes au sujet de l'armistice, et à chacune d'elles ils ajoutaient sous main quelque observation par laquelle le sens se trouvait totalement changé. Leur dernier exploit a consisté dans la substitution aux mots: "sous la médiation des Puissances Garantes" de ceux de "sous la garantie des Puissances," quand il s'est agi de fixer la ligne de démarcation. Et cela a été fait par ces Turcs qui veulent toujours des garanties et n'en jamais donner.

No. 328.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 15.*)

(No. 1317.)

Constantinople, November 29, 1876.

My Lord,

GENERAL IGNATIEW spoke to me yesterday of a statement which has appeared in the English newspapers of a proposed British occupation of Constantinople, and said that he understood Engineer officers to be already here to make preparations for it.

I answered that he could not expect Her Majesty's Government to be indifferent to the chance of Constantinople being exposed to an attack, and they were no doubt considering what step it might be necessary to take if such an eventuality should appear imminent.

He asked who had ever talked of attacking Constantinople, and I replied that although the capital may not have been mentioned the occupation of a portion of the Empire had been more than hinted at, and preparations for it made upon a large scale; and if once commenced, even without any preconceived design against Constantinople, no one could foretell to what such an attempt might lead.

General Ignatiew then remarked that public opinion in England was much divided.

I said that in a country so little inclined to war public opinion would always be divided upon a case where peace was threatened, but he must not suppose that the nation would not stand by Her Majesty's Government if they found it necessary to take up a firm position in defence of recognized British interests.

I am inclined to believe that General Ignatiew had endeavoured to persuade his Government that they had no occasion to fear serious opposition from that of Great Britain in any line they might determine to adopt in regard to Turkey, but that he is now beginning to feel uneasy from the consciousness of the responsibility he will

incur towards his own Sovereign if he is the cause of a rupture between the two countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 329.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1320. Confidential.)
Constantinople, November 29, 1876.
My Lord,

I TOOK the opportunity of my audience of the Sultan to inform His Majesty that the accounts received of the proceedings of the Commission at Philippopoli were far from satisfactory.

A disposition was shown by some of the members to shield the culprits, and I warned His Majesty of the effect which would be produced in England if the inquiry should prove delusive.

The Sultan said that his intention was that justice should be done, and he would communicate on the subject with his Ministers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 330.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1321. Confidential.)
Constantinople, November 29, 1876.
My Lord,

AT my audience of the Sultan, after Sir James Drummond had withdrawn, and when I had presented the Queen's letter, His Majesty invited me to remain to have some conversation upon the present position of affairs.

He did not doubt the friendly disposition of Her Majesty's Government, but he exhibited some apprehension lest, at the ensuing Conference, resolutions should be adopted tending to impair his independence and authority, and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would not countenance any such proposals.

I replied that His Majesty might be satisfied that, in proposing a Conference, Her Majesty's Government were animated by a sincere interest in the Ottoman Empire, and by a wish to bring to a satisfactory conclusion a state of things which was menacing not only to itself, but to the general peace of Europe.

This critical position had been caused by the Porte's neglect during the last twenty years to improve the administration of the country, and to remove the grievances weighing upon a large class of His Majesty's subjects, and it had become a duty for the European Governments to see that the engagements taken by the Porte were now carried out, so as to put an end to the prevailing discontent, and to prevent the danger of future disturbances.

The Sultan answered that he could not attempt to deny that the Hatts promulgated in preceding reigns had been allowed to remain dead letters, or that the engagements taken had been unexecuted, but he repeated his own irrevocable resolution of giving a thorough effect to them.

He could not himself be reproached for what had been done or left undone by his predecessors. His Ministers were working day and night in elaborating measures for giving practical effect to the principles formerly accepted; and His Majesty hinted, though in very mild terms, that there would be an injustice on the part of the European Powers in interfering in the internal administration of the Empire upon the assumption of his not putting those measures into operation.

His Majesty, upon my taking leave, said that he would at all times be glad to receive me whenever I wished to see him, which I understand as an intimation that he would occasionally wish to speak to me more freely than he can do in the presence of the official Interpreter of the Divan, whose duty it is to report the conversations to the Grand Vizier.

His Majesty, although still diffident in manner, has acquired some assurance since the last audience I had the honour of having, and his object is to put those who

approach him at their ease, and to encourage them to express their opinions without fear.

He tells his Ministers that he wishes them to inform him of the truth without reserve, and they assure me that he listens to them with the utmost patience and attention.

He is conscious of his own inexperience, and of his want of knowledge of public affairs, from which he had been kept secluded till he ascended the throne; but, above all, he deplores his ignorance of the character of those to whom he has to entrust the administration of his Empire, for while he is known not to be satisfied with some of those whom he found in the highest position, His Majesty does not yet feel sufficient confidence in his own judgment to venture upon making changes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 331.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1323.)
Constantinople, November 30, 1876.
My Lord,

THERE is one expression in Prince Gortchakow's letter to Count Schouvaloff of the 22nd October / 3rd November to which I would wish to draw your Lordship's attention.

Prince Gortchakow, repudiating all ambitious designs on the part of Russia, observes that the only wish which Russia can have is that the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be in the keeping of a weak Power.

At intervals during the last forty years intimations have been given of this being the object of the Russian Government; and while Her Majesty's Government have desired that an improved administration, by promoting the prosperity of the country and the contentment of the populations, should strengthen the Empire, Russia has continually striven to foment the discontent of the people, and to keep it in that condition of weakness which they admit themselves to desire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 332.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1327.)
Constantinople, December 2, 1876.
My Lord,

THE reports which your Lordship will have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Erzeroum of the indisposition shown by the Redifs of that district to join the army are very different from those received from most other quarters.

The impression at the Porte is that, in the event of a war with Russia, there would be a national enthusiasm which would make it easy to collect any number of men ready to enrol themselves in the army.

I mentioned a few days ago at the Porte that, in the event of such a war, it appeared from Mr. Zohrab's Reports that the Kurds, as well as the Armenians, would be inclined to side with the Russians, but the supposition was received with entire incredulity.

Captain Burnaby, of the Royal Horse Guards, who is about to proceed to visit Kars, Erzeroum, and the neighbouring districts, tells me that he has had some conversation with the Armenian Patriarch upon the disposition of the populations.

The Patriarch had told him, as stated by Mr. Zohrab, that the Kurds were not to be relied upon.

The Armenians, on the other hand, were, he said, well affected to the Turkish Government; but the Patriarch added, with emphasis, that if the Slav Provinces were to be rewarded by exceptional privileges for having risen in insurrection against the Porte, the Armenians would probably think their interest prescribed a similar course upon themselves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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No. 333.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 15.)

(No. 1332.)

Constantinople, December 4, 1876.

My Lord,

THE publication of the constitution which was expected to have taken place before this has been delayed by some disagreement among the Ministers upon certain articles, which is, however, understood now to be overcome.

This morning I found Safvet Pasha in some excitement from a conversation he had just had with General Ignatiew, who had told him, with much appearance of irritation, that the proposed publication of the Constitution was an affront to all Europe and a defiance of the Powers.

A Conference had been called for the purpose of considering the measures required for the protection of the Christians in certain provinces, and the Porte hoped to defeat its object by bringing forward a scheme for the general administration of the Empire.

He warned the Minister that the Powers would not be driven from their object, nor take into the slightest consideration or account anything that it might propose or do in that sense.

Safvet Pasha answered that the assumption of the Constitution being resolved upon to defeat the object of the Conference was wholly gratuitous, as every one was aware, the decision of it having been come to and the details taken in hand long before there had been a question of one.

The evils to which the country was exposed under the arbitrary system hitherto prevailing had become so apparent during the reign of Abdul Aziz, which had brought it to the very brink of ruin, that there was a unanimous conviction of the necessity of establishing some Constitutional control to provide securities against a repetition of the abuses.

He hoped that the Constitution might be found to provide the securities expected for the populations of the insurgent provinces, but he could not admit that the summons of a Conference for the purpose of arriving at their pacification could be a sufficient reason for withholding from the whole of the Empire the reforms in the administration which have become indispensable.

He reminded the Ambassador that he had frequently, but in vain, asked him what his Government proposed to demand for the insurgent provinces, for had the Porte been informed of this it might very possibly have been able to do what was expected of it.

The object of the Russian Ambassador, as I have frequently observed to your Lordship, has been not to induce the Porte to concede the measures necessary for the well-being of the provinces, but to impose upon it some decision of the Powers which will shake the authority of the Imperial Government, and to cause the populations to regard Russia as the benefactor through which they obtain any new privileges.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 334.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 15.)

(No. 1333. Confidential.)

Constantinople, December 4, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch from Mr. Baring covering a project of administration for Bulgaria, given to him, confidentially, by Prince Tzeretelew, a Secretary of the Russian Embassy, which had been concerted by him and Mr. Schuyler, together with a Memorandum upon it by Mr. Baring himself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 334.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Philippopolis, December 1, 1876.

Sir,

BEFORE leaving Philippopoli Mr. Schuyler allowed me to take a copy of a project for the future government of "Bulgaria," which he had drawn up in conjunction with Prince Tzercielew.

Not knowing whether this document has been already communicated to your Excellency, I have the honour to inclose a copy of it, together with a memorandum I had drawn up embodying a few remarks on its contents.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 334.

Project of Government for Bulgaria, by Mr. Schuyler and Prince Tcherteiew.

LA Bulgarie constituera une province autonome de l'Empire Ottoman formée des Vilayets du Danube et de Sofia, des Sandjaks de Philippoplis et de Slivno, et des districts Bulgares de la Macédoine.

L'unité administrative sera le canton (Mudirlik) avec une moyenne de 5,000 à 10,000 habitants. En conservant autant que possible les divisions territoriales existantes, on en fera de nouvelles lorsque les Mudirliks seront trop petits et on tachera de grouper les Chrétiens et les Musulmans en cantons distincts.

Les cantons posséderont un large "self Government," ils s'administreront eux-mêmes et s'occuperont sans aucune ingérence des autorités supérieures, de la répartition des impôts, de la construction, et de l'entretien des voies de communication, de la police, &c. A cet effet les habitants sans distinction des cultes formeront par voie d'élection un Conseil Cantonal, composé de délégués de chaque commune (Mahallé). A la tête de ce Conseil et du canton sera placé le Maire (Mudir) désigné pour un an par le Gouverneur-Général entre deux candidats élus par le Conseil Cantonal.

Le Maire sera le représentant du canton et l'organe de l'autorité.

Les cantons seront réunis en gouvernements (Sandjaks) confiés à des Gouverneurs (Mutessarifs) nommés pour un certain laps de temps par la Porte avec le consentement des Puissances.

Les fonctionnaires seront Chrétiens ou Musulmans selon la majorité de la population du Gouvernement; ils ne seront que les représentants du Gouverneur-Général, leur tâche sera de maintenir l'ordre et de surveiller l'activité des Maires et des Conseils Cantonaux. Chaque Gouverneur aura une Chancellerie, et un Conseil de quatre membres, désignés pour un an par le Gouverneur-Général, entre les candidats présentés par les cantons et des chefs des communautés.

La police sera formée par les autorités cantonales des gens du pays de façon à ce que le nombre des Chrétiens et Musulmans corresponde à la population des cantons.

Enfin, à la tête de la Bulgarie sera placé un Gouverneur-Général Chrétien connaissant la langue du pays, et nommé pour cinq ans par un accord entre la Porte et les Puissances garantes. Il sera le représentant du pouvoir souverain, et l'intermédiaire entre la province et le Gouvernement central, il aura le droit de requérir la force militaire pour maintenir l'ordre.

A côté du Gouverneur-Général se trouvera une Assemblée composée de députés élus dans les cantons selon le nombre des habitants. Cette Assemblée siégera un mois par an dans la ville désignée comme résidence du Gouverneur-Général, elle s'occupera de toutes les questions qui touchent les intérêts de la province et nommera une Commission de permanence qui, avec les chefs des différents cultes, servira de Conseil Administratif au Gouverneur-Général. L'Assemblée pourra proposer des modifications du règlement qui devront être sanctionnées par les Puissances Garantes et la Porte.

La justice de paix sera faite provisoirement par le Maire et son Conseil; les Tribunaux de Première Instance serviront dans ce cas de Cours d'Appel. Les causes spéciales des différentes religions continueront à être du ressort des cours ecclésiastiques; toutes les autres seront de la compétence des tribunaux communs.

où siégeront indistinctement des juges Chrétiens et Musulmans qui appliqueront le Code Ottoman.

Dans les chefs-lieux des gouvernements et dans d'autres villes, s'il est nécessaire, il y aura des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels de Première Instance. Ces Tribunaux seront formés de juges, dont la moitié aura été prise par le Gouverneur-Général entre les candidats présentés par les cantons, et l'autre élue par l'Assemblée entre les candidats présentés par le Gouverneur-Général. Les juges seront provisoirement nommés pour un an et pourront ensuite être confirmés pour trois ans.

Pour toute la Province il y aura une Cour d'Appel subdivisée en deux Départements et dont le Président et les membres seront nommés par la Porte avec le consentement des Puissances.

Les cours civils des gouvernements tiendront les registres des propriétés foncières.

La langue officielle de la province sera le Bulgare. Dans les cantons mixtes, dans les tribunaux d'administration les deux langues auront les mêmes droits.

Les églises, mosquées, écoles, hopitaux, &c., continueront comme par le passé à être du ressort des communautés qui fourniront l'entretien du clergé et des établissements religieux. Il y aura parfaite liberté des cultes et de l'instruction publique.

Les revenus que le Gouvernement Ottoman perçoit en Bulgarie au moyen de la dîme et d'autres impôts seront fixés pour un terme de cinq ans sur la moyenne des dix dernières années. L'Assemblée de la Province établira certains règlements généraux relatifs à l'assiette des impôts et la quote-part des cantons qui aviseront de leur côté à la répartition et aux modes de perception. Les impôts seront versés, déduction faite des dépenses cantonales et des frais de l'administration et de la justice, aux comptoirs de la Banque Ottomane, et pourront être affectés au service de la dette de l'Empire.

L'Assemblée Provinciale et les Conseils Cantonaux auront le droit de voter des impôts additionnels pour les besoins de la province ou des cantons.

Les troupes Ottomanes ne cantonneront que dans les forteresses et certaines villes déterminées par les Puissances et la Porte. Pour garantir la sécurité du pays une Garde Nationale sera formée, les Chrétiens auront des officiers Chrétiens et les Musulmans des officiers Musulmans. Le Gouverneur-Général aura le commandement en chef de la Garde Nationale. Les Chrétiens seront autorisés de servir dans l'armée avec les mêmes droits que les Musulmans.

Ce projet d'organisation, comme toute autre réforme, ne serait exécutable qu'avec une force suffisante pour prévenir et arrêter tout désordre; un contrôle effectif devrait être confié à une Commission Internationale dont les membres assisteraient aux élections et surveilleraient l'activité de l'Administration et de la justice durant un an au moins.

Inclosure 3 in No. 334.

Memorandum.

WHATEVER may be the diversity of opinion respecting the means to be adopted to better the condition of the Christian population of European Turkey, whether by granting them complete independence or administrative autonomy, or by reforms such as have been or may be promulgated by the Porte, no one, probably, who has in any way studied the subject will deny that something must be done to give a better administration to the Rayahs, and to prevent the recurrence of such fiery outbursts of ferocity as took place in Bulgaria in May last.

It does not require a long residence in this province to discover that the condition of the Christians is well nigh intolerable, the greatest wrong of which they have to complain being, of course, the abominable administration of justice by the local tribunals.

Since the special Commission has been sitting in this town, two cases have come before it, which would sufficiently prove, if fresh proof were needed, what little chance a Christian has of obtaining justice against a Mussulman.

In the first of these cases, the local Court gave a decision which practically legalized forced labour, and in the second, the plaintiff was ordered to call a perfectly unnecessary witness, who the Court well knew could not possibly be produced. The Commission reversed both of these, but there is not always a special Commission sitting.

If a Christian be accused of crime, he is held guilty till he can prove his innocence; if, on the other hand, a Mussulman be accused of crime, he is held innocent till he is proved guilty.

All the other wrongs of which the Christians complain, such as the unfair collection of taxes, the exactions of Zaptieh and other officials, sink into insignificance when compared to this great evil, for without a proper administration of justice, how can there be the smallest security for life or property?

To remedy these evils and to give to the Christians a share in the Government of this province, which is at present exclusively in Mussulman hands, Prince Tzhertelew and Mr. Schuyler have proposed a scheme which certainly deserves serious consideration.

They propose to unite the vilayets of the Danube and of Sofia, the Sandjaks of Philippopoli and Slimnia, and the Bulgarian districts of Macedonia, into one autonomous province, under the name of Bulgaria.

The present "Mudirliks" would be preserved as far as possible, and would administer their own affairs, in all matters concerning taxation, construction, and maintenance of roads, police, &c., by means of a council.

These "Mudirliks" would be under the immediate government of Mutessarifs chosen by the Porte, with the sanction of the Powers.

The police force would be chosen by the cantonal authorities from among the natives, Mussulmans or Christians being chosen according to the population of the Mudirlik.

A Christian Governor-General, knowing the language of the country, would be appointed for five years by the Porte, with the sanction of the Powers and an Assembly, the members of which would be elected by the different Mudirliks, would sit for one month in the year at the capital of the province. This Assembly would name a permanent Committee to act as an Administrative Council for the Governor-General.

The Judges of all the inferior Courts of Justice would be named either by the Governor-General, by the Assembly, or by the Mudirliks; but the members of the Supreme Court of Appeal would be appointed by the Porte.

The official language of the Province would be Bulgarian, but in the Tribunals of the mixed Mudirliks the Turkish would have equal rights.

The revenues which the Turkish Government receive in Bulgaria from the tithe and other taxes would be fixed for a space of five years, the average of the last ten years being taken as the basis of calculation.

The Turkish troops would only garrison the fortresses and certain towns, but a national guard would be formed to keep order.

Christians would be admitted into the army.

A sufficient force (by which is meant a foreign force) would be required to put down any attempt at disorder which the promulgation of this scheme might give rise to, and an International Commission for one year at least would see that the scheme was properly executed.

As a copy of the project in question is annexed to this Memorandum, it is not necessary to give its details at greater length.

Taken upon its merits as a scheme for the future government of a province, but few objections can be brought forward against it. It gives a larger share of the administration into the hands of the people, while preserving to the Porte the right of nominating the superior functionaries.

Except in two of its clauses it is as moderate as any scheme of the sort can be which is intended to be a reality, the exception being the almost complete exclusion of the Turkish troops from the provinces, and the last paragraph respecting the foreign occupation.

The first of these stipulations does not seem in any way necessary for the actual working of the scheme, more particularly if the principle of admitting Christians to the army is established, and a national guard is decidedly a dangerous element in anything but a highly civilized community.

As regards the occupation, setting aside the numerous political difficulties which beset it, it is doubtful whether the presence of foreign troops would not rather be a source of danger than a protection; and moreover the present scheme, or any other, if once accepted by the Porte and guaranteed by the Powers, could be carried out without recourse being had to so violent a measure.

The same objections, however, cannot be raised to the appointment of an International Commission, for without some foreign supervision and assistance no reforms would ever be carried through.

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There is but little to be said against the remaining proposals respecting the future administration. It would, perhaps, be more fair to give the Porte greater freedom in the matter of taxation, and the clause respecting the nomination of the Governor-General might be modified by striking out the passage insisting upon his knowing the language, as this stipulation would so greatly limit the numbers of persons from whom this functionary could be chosen.

As regards the official language, as the Ottoman Code is in Turkish, it would be better to say that the two languages should have equal rights all over the Province.

The clause which stipulates that the revenues should be paid into the Ottoman Bank to meet the interest on the debt should be struck out, as it is a matter which in no way concerns the administration of these provinces.

If few objections can be made to the proposals for administrative reforms, the same cannot be said of the geographical limits of the Province.

It is proposed to include the Sandjaks of Philippopolis and Slimnia, and the Bulgarian portions of Macedonia, as well as the Vilayets of the Danube and Sofia in this new Bulgaria, the consequence of which would be that a frontier line would have to be drawn from the Black Sea to the north of Adrianople through a country where no natural boundaries exist.

A vast Slav province, over which Russia would naturally exercise considerable influence, would therefore be created at the very door of Constantinople, with no natural barrier to prevent future aggressions.

The only way to obviate this undesirable result would be to create a province of Bulgaria out of the Sofia and Danube Vilayets, under one Governor-General, and to form another province of the Vilayet of Adrianople and a portion of Macedonia under another Governor, with the same administrative privileges as might be granted to Bulgaria.

In this second province the Greek element would predominate, and would act as a wholesome check on the Slavs, who would be in a majority were the geographical limits proposed in Mr. Schuyler's scheme to be adopted.

Moreover, the creation of this second province would obviate any agitation which might arise if the Bulgarians alone were to have self-government granted to them, while the Greeks, whose claims are just as strong, were passed over.

(Signed) W. BARING.

Philippopolis, December 1, 1876.

No. 335.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 16.)

(No. 1335.)

Constantinople, December 6, 1876.

My Lord,

THE inclosed despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert offers a highly satisfactory contrast to his previous reports upon the ravaged districts in the neighbourhood of Philippopoli.

Mr Calvert's statement is confirmed by an account given to me by a gentleman who has just returned from that district, who says that he was greatly surprised to find how much had been done for the people since his last visit.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 335.

Acting Consul Calvert to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopoli, November 30, 1876.

Sir,

SINCE I last had the honour to report to your Excellency, a gradual but continuous improvement has been observable in the condition of the late insurgent districts.

The successive military reinforcements that have been brought to Philippopoli and the other chief centres of the disturbed districts, and the punishment dealt out for various recent outrages, have tended to suppress the terrorism which since the

insurrection had been exercised by Mussulman towards Christian; and I am inclined to credit with a share in leading to this result the judicious course pursued by the agents entrusted with the distribution of English relief. To this day the Mussulman population believe that the Bulgarian Christians intended to exterminate them, and do not consider that they inflicted more cruel repression than was necessary for self-defence. At the outset of the distribution of relief they consequently felt indignant that succour should—as they imagined would be the case—be given to the Christians only, who were the first to shed blood.

A few acts of charity towards sufferers of their own faith have produced a revulsion of feeling which appears in a kindlier demeanour towards the Christians. Threats of massacre, so frequent but a few weeks ago, have entirely ceased.

Although great privations are in store for the inhabitants of the burnt villages during the present winter, the prospect is now not by any means so fearful as it appeared at first. I believe that all the distressed population are under shelter, the peasants having contrived straw huts, which are said to be so warm that the inmates prefer to stay in them until the newly-built dwellings of wood and mud have had time to dry.

Three days ago I visited Peroushtizza, and ascertained the following facts:—

Eighty houses have been wholly or nearly built, and the work, favoured by fine weather, was still proceeding. The people are obliged to feed the workmen, but, on the other hand, every family has received from the Government from 150 to 500 piastres, for which no bond has been demanded. The village has, besides, received as a loan 30,000 piastres, for cattle, with which sum 38 head have been bought; and 2,500 kilehs of grain. Peroushtizza was a hot-bed of illness two months ago; the sickness has since greatly diminished.

A doctor, paid by Government, has been appointed to reside there, and there are only 40 patients on his list out of a population of some 1,500.

The number of people killed at Peroushtizza, which, by Mr. Schuyler, was given as 1,000, and by Mr. Baring as 750, is now stated by the head man of the village at 313.

The Commission under Pertew Effendi for the trial of alleged rebels is working slowly, but is under an injunction, I understand, to show the greatest possible indulgence. The President has assured me privately that all the prisoners—now reduced to 53—except convicted ringleaders of the insurrection, will be set free.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. R. J. CALVERT.

No. 336.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 15.)

(No. 1337.)

Constantinople, December 7, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Armenian Patriarch called upon me yesterday.

His object was to express, on behalf of the large Christian community of which he is the head, the hope that the Conference will not insist upon the Porte conceding to the provinces which had risen against the Government privileges which would be denied to those which had remained quiet, but which were entitled to equal consideration.

I answered with reserve, saying that the object of the Conference was to restore tranquillity to the provinces where an insurrection threatened the general peace, but that it would not, I imagined, go into the whole question of the administration of the entire Ottoman Empire.

The Patriarch replied that his people were much excited, and said that if, in order to secure the sympathy of the European Powers, it was necessary to rise in insurrection, there would be no difficulty in getting up such a movement.

He also protested against a proposal which had been made to inflict absolute injury upon the Armenians for the benefit of the Slavs, by transporting into Asia the Circassians now located in Europe.

With the exception of the distant parts of Arabia, to which it would be impossible to banish people accustomed to a Northern climate, there was no part of Asia in which there were not numerous Armenians, and the Patriarch hoped that it would

not be proposed to expose them to the maltreatment of Circassians smarting under their expulsion from their European homes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 337.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1339.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 7, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two further reports from Sir A. Kemball, dated Alexinatz, the 20th and 29th November.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 337.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Alexinatz, November 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to subjoin five telegrams which I have forwarded to your Excellency since the date of my last despatch of the 13th instant.

Bulgarian workmen returning to their homes in Turkey report that the forts of Deligrad have been wholly dismantled, the guns having been removed to Paracin and Kuprija; that the garrison of the position is reduced to less than a battalion of regular troops; and that the militia of the Servian army have been dismissed to their homes with leave of absence for two months.

The Governor-General of Widdin reports by telegraph that two days ago 106 Russian soldiers, under the command of an officer, recrossed the Danube from Servia into Roumania. He had a few days previously reported the passage of 1,100 Russians into Servia who had probably reached Roumania prior to the conclusion of the armistice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. KEMBALL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 337.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegrams.)

Alexinatz, November 14, 1876.

AZIZ PASHA reports hearing firing of guns and musketry in Servian lines in the direction of Krushevatz since yesterday morning. Supposed to be mutiny or revolution. Has been directed to send flag of truce; require explanation; will report result.

Alexinatz, November 16, 1876.

Aziz Pasha's report erroneous, though at the time corroborated. Hafiz Pasha's extreme right; therefore flag of truce has not been sent to Servians.

Alexinatz, November 17, 1876.

Nothing happened to Hafiz Pasha's extreme right, although his report at the time corroborated; report of Aziz Pasha proved erroneous.

Alexinatz, November 20, 1876.

Your three telegrams have been received. No member of Commission arrived; nor Major Gonne. All right on our boundaries, which I returned last night from completely visiting, end to end.

Small posts established by Servians along the crest south-east of Alexinatz, but at respectful distance.

Alexinatz, November 20, 1876.

Three Delegates left Zaitchar yesterday, travelling by Banjé and Alexinatz; not expected to arrive for four days . . . No news of Major Gonne or others coming from Belgrade.

Inclosure 3 in No. 337.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Alexinatz, November 20, 1876.*

THE subjoined six telegrams, bearing dates subsequent to my despatch of the 20th instant, have already acquainted your Excellency with the proceedings of the Commission, and the resolutions taken by it for defining the limits of the neutral zone between the Turkish and Servian forces in the valley of the Morava, also the line of demarcation between the belligerent armies generally from the Danube to Sudo Rudiste, in longitude 18° 30′*, during the armistice. This line, the Turkish positions of Zaitschar and Alexinatz excepted, is represented by the normal frontier between the two countries. It has two other minor exceptions, the one provisional relating to the village of Salas, in the district of Adlié, mentioned in my telegram No. 73, the other definitive for the purposes of the armistice, and involving the continued occupation by Servian troops of the Plateau of Cucale (in Turkish territory), which is encircled by the elevated crest extending from Glavna Karaula to its reunion in a south-westerly direction (in longitude 18° 47′) with the mountains of the frontier. This arrangement was justified by the principle of the *uti possidetis*, the presence of the Servian troops in sufficient force at Cucale not being disputed by the Turkish military authorities. The same principle was asserted by the Russian Commissioner as applicable also to a tract of country of undefined extent over which the Servians operating from the passes at very long intervals were alleged to have distributed their so-called outposts; but as these outposts were confessedly without supports, and above all as no specification of force or period of occupation was forthcoming, the facts adduced in support of this pretension being denied by the Turkish commanders it was in a military sense deemed to be obviously inadmissible by the Commission, and was accordingly unanimously repudiated.

The Russian proposition involved indeed a neutral zone, which could only be established after an inspection of the ground from Zaitschar to Novi Bazar, as well as a minute investigation of contradictory reports on the spot. In all fairness it must involve, too, the withdrawal of the Servians from more than one pass of which their possession was not now disputed. Such being the case the Russian Commissioner, though he desired that his objections and the considerations by which they were overruled should be recorded, acknowledged the propriety of submitting to the opinion of the majority. As regards Salas Luvocou, the Russian Commissioner relied upon the assurance of the Servian authorities, that inasmuch as the inhabitants were compromised by their participation in the war, the evacuation of that village would expose them to serious danger, and he contended that in such case the Commission must undertake the responsibility of securing to them immunity from molestation. For obvious reasons, and upon information independently obtained of the number and character of the Mahommedan population in the same district, this point appeared to me to be well worthy of consideration, and the suggestion which I thereon made of referring the question of amnesty for the decision of the Porte in correspondence with the mediating Ambassadors was unanimously accepted by the Commission.

My opinion is, that not only should an amnesty be accorded frankly and without reserve to all villagers who, like those of Salas, placed between two fires and threatened with ruin, have been left no alternative except timeous submission to the invaders, but that in the special case of Salas a detachment of regular troops under the command of a selected officer of not less rank than Bimbashi should, for a time, be stationed at this village to protect it from the aggressions of Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians. From a military point of view this measure is also recommended by the fact that Salas is situated upon, perhaps may be said to command, the only road leading from the mountains into the district of Adlié.

I need not trouble your Excellency with the deliberations and discussions of the Commission in respect to the settlement of the neutral zone embracing the Turkish

* Map of the Austrian Military Geographical Institute.

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positions between the valleys of the Djuniska and Moravitza. The Protocol comprising details will reach your Excellency in due course. The desire of the Commission to proceed at once on the further prosecution of its work precluded my obtaining a copy and must equally preclude its transmission to the Dean of Ambassadors until the Commission reaches Belgrade. It must therefore suffice, for the present, to submit to your Excellency sketch maps of that zone and of the plateau of Cucale, of which the limits are set forth in my telegram No. 74. The results, though not fully corresponding with my view of strict impartiality, were still in abatement of the pretensions of the Russian Commissioner, and were, in fact, the best obtainable against the risk of a deadlock which must have seriously interrupted the course of the Commission, inasmuch as they preserved to the Turks a sound defensive position, nor materially crippled their offensive action in the event of the war being renewed. I finally gave my adherence thereto, in deference to the majority, and for the sake of the unanimity due to mutual concessions.

The necessary orders have been already issued by his Excellency the Mushir Ali Saib Pasha for the retirement of the Turkish troops posted within the limits of the neutral zone, with strict injunctions against damage to the buildings or holdings of the villages occupied by them. As soon as this operation is completed, I will visit the outposts from end to end and report the result to your Excellency.

The Turkish Government has, however, resolved on reducing the expeditionary force in this quarter, including the garrisons of Nish, Sofia, Uskup, and Kurshumlie to the following strength, viz.:—

Three divisions of infantry, under the command of Fazli, Adyl, and Hafiz Pashas, divided into 6 brigades, aggregating, with reserves, 62 battalions of the average strength of 500 men.

9 batteries of artillery (field).
3 „ reserve „
1½ „ mountain guns.
72 field and 9 mountain guns.
1 regiment of cavalry, dragoons, 700 men.

This force, assuming the enemy to be restricted to the Servian army, is deemed to be sufficient for further offensive operations in Servia. As a precautionary measure, the crests of the ridge which intervenes between the valleys of the Morava and Moravitza on the line from Bohoviste to the bridge over the latter river will be fortified with defensive works.

The remainder of the troops hitherto operating in this direction are being moved southwards and eastwards in detachments of two and three battalions, and Ferik Azeez Pasha, an officer of talent and experience, who received his military education in Prussia, has been deputed to inspect and report upon the condition of the fortified places on the line of the Danube.

I herewith submit in copy a letter to my address from Major Gonne, dated Zaitchar, 17th November (but which did not reach me till after his arrival here), also a letter which I addressed to that officer on the departure of the Commission yesterday from Alexinatz.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. B. KEMBALL.

Inclosure 4 in No. 337.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegrams.)

Wednesday, 6 P.M.

COMMISSIONERS arrived from Zaitchar, also German from Belgrade arrived yesterday at Deligrad; they visited Alexinatz to-day, will come here permanently to-morrow. Preliminary Conference, Russian pretensions excessive, and urged on ground of generosity due to the weak from the strong. I rely upon last paragraph of instruction.

Friday, 7 A.M.

Commission proceeds immediately visit extreme left Turkish position, returns by way of extreme right to-morrow. Telegram this afternoon to Russian Ambassador refers Bosnian insurgents.

Monday, midnight.

Commission this evening terminated work valley of Morava and will leave to-morrow afternoon by Belgrade and River Save to continue work in the direction of Bellina.

Commission has also terminated line of demarcation from Danube to longitude 18° 30′, reserving however for decision of Ambassadors evacuation by Servians of village of Salash, in the district of Adlich, of which inhabitants are said to be threatened with reprisals owing to taking part with the Servians in the war. The question of their being amnestied has remained to be settled between Ambassadors and Porte. I send communication in cypher to you for the information of Dean Corps Diplomatic.

Settlement on the whole satisfactory. Although neutral ground has been to great extent formed by retirement of Turks, essentials successfully preserved.

The Turkish line follows stream of Djuniska from its source to confluence with Morava, then up left bank to opposite village Bohoviste (Bubble-visit) then across intervening ridge to bridge over Little Morava, then along crests east of valley as far as frontier at point more east than before reported. The frontier from Danube to longitude 18° 30′ is made line of demarcation between belligerents during armistice, but Servians will continue occupation Salash pending action of Ambassadors.

Tuesday, 9 P.M.

The Commission proceeding Bosnia will arrive Bellina 5th or 6th December. In order to avoid loss of time while Commission is engaged in settling a military line of demarcation between belligerents, it is desirable that the Consular Agents should collect all possible information in respect to insurgent chiefs, their centre of action and place of residence. These agents might, by the direction of Ambassadors, ask in advance the necessary safe conducts for the insurgent chiefs, and direct them upon Bellina, the point which Commission considers, subject to orders to the contrary, as the most convenient. They must at the same time obtain the formal consent of the authorities not to prosecute hostilities against the insurgent bands in the absence of their chiefs. The Austrian Commissioner intimates, however, that it would be necessary to obtain a special authorization from the Austrian Government in the event of certain of these chiefs wishing to proceed to Bellina by the shortest route through Austrian territory. Please communicate to Dean Diplomatic Corps.

Tuesday, 9 P.M.

Commission left Alexinatz this afternoon. Four full days have been allowed Turks to conform new limits. After that operation am I at liberty come to Constantinople. Major Gonne cannot probably return Alexinatz before the end of armistice.

Inclosure 5 in No. 337.

Major Gonne to Major-General Sir A. Kemball.

(Private.)

Zaitchar, November 17, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report on the progress made by the Armistice Commission, over which you will shortly preside.

In the absence of the German Delegate, the Representatives of Austria, Russia, France, and Italy, together with the writer, as an acting member of the Commission, commenced operations yesterday by verifying the statement made by the Turks touching their line of outposts on the Timok. This day the Commission crossed to the Servian lines, and a plan handed to it by Colonel Leschanin will also be verified. The Commission will give its orders regarding the line of demarcation, Sunday, and proceed without loss of time to Alexinatz viâ Bunja. The Commission calculates on reaching the Servian boundary, say Deligrad, on Tuesday night, and will be at Alexinatz Wednesday, by noon.

I am requested by my colleagues to ask you kindly to make all necessary arrangements in order that, under your leadership, the work on the Morava may at once commence.

The system up to this has been to invite two officers named by the Commandant of an army corps to make a statement regarding the corps' outposts, then to obtain like information from the opposing force, but the officers of the Commission seem desirous to leave the preliminary steps in your able hands.

As regards myself, it will be my duty and pleasure to render you an account of the past, and place myself under your orders for the future till the work is complete. If you have no need of my humble services I shall return to my post with the permission of Sir Henry Elliot.

My colleagues anticipate some trouble on account of the declared Slav sympathy of Colonel Zelenoï, their acting President. The critical moment will be to-morrow, when the Timok line will be traced. On this subject I can report hereafter.

There are two hangers-on to our caravan; an English officer and a Russian. The former I give shelter to as regards room; the latter is attached to Colonel Zelenoï's person. If the German arrives we are eight in number.

Riza Bey, our attendant (Lieutenant-Colonel), will reach Alexinatz viâ Nisch with this letter, and thus the necessity of taking a Turkish officer through the Servian country will be avoided.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE, *Military Attaché.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 337.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Major Gonne.

Alexinatz, November 28, 1876.

Sir,

THE Commission having terminated its operations in this direction, as fully set forth in the Protocols which I recommend to your perusal, I request that you will be pleased to resume your functions as member for Great Britain, and proceed, under your original instructions, to take part in its further resolutions. I subjoin, for your information, copy of a telegram I received on the 19th instant from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. I have determined to await further instructions in respect to my stay at Alexinatz until your return as contemplated, subject to my own discretion, by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. KEMBALL.

No. 338.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1340. Confidential.)

Constantinople, December 7, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a report forwarded to me by Major Gonne, for the information of the Quartermaster-General's Department, regarding a position which offers advantage to an army desirous of crossing from Roumania into Servia; and respecting the state of the Turkish army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 338.

Major Gonne to Sir H. Elliot.

Alexinatz, November 27, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that on the arrival of the Armistice Commission at the headquarters of the Morava army, I placed myself under the orders of Sir A. Kemball, who, in person, assumes his position as President.

My opportunity of obtaining information for the War Office since leaving Vienna has been limited as one enjoys no privacy, but I am promised interesting statistics regarding the navigation of the Danube, and with reference to that river as an obstacle to invasion from Roumania, I wish to call attention to a position which in my humble opinion offers the greatest advantages to an army desirous of crossing from Roumania into Servia.

The position is between Ismoanile and the village of Radujevatz. I can give no information regarding the road connecting Ismoanile with the railway, but a good road

passes from Radujevatz to Negotin. I am told that the ice broken up at the iron gates is apt to block at this turn of the river, and that, as a rule, the river can be traversed during a part of the winter.

I consider the width of the river 800 paces speed in November, little over half a mile per hour. The bed sand with pebbles favourable for piles.

The Roumanian bank commands a range of hills about 80 feet high, run parallel with the stream within 300 yards, and form a desirable concave position for covering artillery. On the Servian bank all is flat except a hill 1½ miles distant towards the Turkish position; it is a doubt whether the proposed bridge could be seen from this point. The nearest Turkish post is Bregovo, on the Timok, which flows into the Danube four miles down stream. Timber exists on the Timok.

The fortress of Widdin, which assumes importance in case of a Russian army crossing into Servia, is much in the state described by Moltke.

A second town has sprung up outside the city bastions and interferes with defence, but, as a rule, the glacis covers the old masonry which, though in a bad state, would stand some hammering. The ditch without a "cuvette" is only wet when the Danube is high. Outside the glacis is a dead flat for the distance of a cannon shot, excepting a bank which is more or less converted into an advanced line of defence on the south and west.

On the north-east, also, an effort was once made to throw up a continued trench. The works were never finished, because the Turks look upon the town as impregnable. Moltke describes the fortifications as in no part commanded, but he spoke of unrifled guns. The fact is that Kalafat commands Widdin at easy range, say, between 2,000 and 3,000 yards. The Commanding Officer told me he had lots of guns, and if not, he could get any number from Constantinople, and that all were rifled. They say the Danube never quite bears near Widdin.

The Turks are working hard at fortifying a position at Zaitchar, of which I send a rough eye sketch.

The hill 110 has a command over the circle of redoubts, unfortunately. The Turkish position is strong, and they are making a kind of earthwork citadel, shown in elevation. They say that no other road but the Zaitchar one will admit of guns passing from Negotin to Widdin.

A fortified camp of greater strength exists in the position of Alexinatz, and doubtless the Turks mean holding these two points, even if the Russians declare war. The forward position between Djunis and the Morava, on the left bank, is held, as turning Deligrad and opening the way to Krushevatz; but this is an offensive position which would probably be abandoned.

The Turkish troops number:—

Timok Corps, 28 battalions; Morava and right bank, 40 battalions; Morava and left bank, 19 battalions, Aziz Pasha; Morava and left bank, 13 battalions, Hafiz Pasha. (A battalion rather under 500 men.)

There are seventeen batteries of six guns, two-thirds 4-pounders, one-third 6-pounders; 1,200 cavalry. The greater portion of those have fallen back on Nisch during the armistice.

Of siege guns I can only hear of 3:—2 of 12 centimètres, 1 of 15 centimètres, but it is said that 3 more are at Nisch. These require twelve horses. The army seems in very good spirits, and is well clothed and fairly supplied.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. GONNE, *Military Attaché.*

No. 339.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1341.)

Constantinople, December 7, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of four further Reports from Mr. Baring, respecting the proceedings of the Commission at Philippopoli.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 329.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopoli, November 19, 1876.

Sir,

IT was not without some feeling of regret that I heard to-day that the President of the Commission had telegraphed to Ismail Bey to return at once.

Since he left, things have certainly been going on somewhat more smoothly, and at one time I really was inclined to think that justice would be done in some cases.

I mentioned to your Excellency, in my despatch of the 6th instant, that Ismail Bey had been to Bazardjik, and that the result of his journey was the production of certain documents in Bulgarian, denying, or at least extenuating, the crimes of the Bashi-Bazouks at Batak. The other day, the persons who were supposed to have signed these papers appeared before the Commission; they were four in number; only one of them could read and write.

Two of them were from Rakitovo, a mixed village near Batak, and the paper to which their names were affixed set forth that, having been at the latter place at the time of its destruction, they could certify that it was not the Bashi-Bazouks who killed the people in and about the church, and that, moreover, the Tchorbadji Triandaphyl was not roasted.

When they were examined, it was discovered that one of them had never been inside the village at all, and that the other had not been there until everything was over; one of them had seen dead bodies, but neither of them could give any information about the massacre or about Triandaphyl's death. The story, however, told by them as to how the paper was got up, was instructive to the extreme. They said that one day they were called from their work, and went before an "Effendi," a stranger to the place, who asked them questions, to which they replied, exactly as they had done before the Commission; they were never called upon to sign or put their mark to any paper at all.

The third witness was from Kamchitza. He had been summoned to the Turkish village of Bania, and on the way he met two Turks, who told him that if he were asked any questions, he should say that the people in the church of Batak died from want of water, and that the Bulgarians themselves killed their women, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks. Accordingly, when he arrived at Bania, he was taken to the house of one Mollah Hussein, where he met an Effendi [whose appearance he described], and who asked him questions, to which, through fear, he replied as he had been ordered to do.

The fourth witness, an old man of Batak, said that he had never been questioned by anybody except by the Commission itself at Peshtera, and that he had never signed any paper, though one was produced with his name affixed to it.

One of the worst features in this impudent attempt at fraud is, that it is evidently the act of some one who is more or less cognizant with the proceedings of the Commission, as all the points touched upon in these forged documents have been gone into before it.

Though these papers had forgery written in every line of them, the Mussulman members of the Commission showed great anxiety to take evidence about them. Now that their character has been clearly proved, they are doing all in their power to hush the matter up. As three of the witnesses said where they had seen this mysterious Effendi, it would be an easy matter, with a little good will, to find out who he is; but evidently Sadoullah Bey thinks that disagreeable revelations might be made, and that persons might be compromised who must at all risks be saved. This is the reason, no doubt, why he has telegraphed for Ismail Bey.

When the frauds were discovered, I spoke most strongly on the matter, and insisted that the author of it should be brought up. Of course I received every assurance and promise, but I feel convinced that the Turks will do everything in their power to prevent the matter being made the subject of inquiry.

I hear that since Ismail Bey has been in Constantinople he has been using all his endeavours to put the conduct of Ekindes Effendi in the most unfavourable light, and the latter gentleman has received a message from the Mussulmans of this town to the effect that they were disappointed with him, as they had thought he was one of them, but that his conduct now proves that he is against them.

Ekindes Effendi has all along taken up a very sound line of conduct; he has examined the prisoners impartially and with considerable skill; he has a thorough knowledge of the smallest details of the evidence, and, moreover, he thinks that the

inquiry should be a reality, and not a sham. Should he be obliged to resign, which is not impossible, the Commission will become a mockery; none of the other members, except Selim Effendi, have any legal experience, and he, of course, through his connection with the Bulgarian trials, is by no means an impartial judge.

I believe Ismail Bey speaks of the difficulty of obtaining reliable information, the fact being that what he calls "reliable information" is the evidence of a Turk; and it is hardly to be expected that the Bashi-Bazouks are going to come forward and give evidence about their own crimes.

Yesterday the summary of the evidence taken about the Batak case was read; there were many omissions in it, which, however, will be supplied. When this document is corrected the Commission can proceed to judge the whole case.

I believe I am right in thinking that what the Mussulman members want is to condemn Achmet Agha and Achmet Tchaousch of Kara-Bulak alone, and to acquit Metto Bektash, Alish Pehlivan, Kutchuk Halil, and Achmet Tchaousch of Dorkovo. No more disgraceful act of injustice can possibly be imagined. There is evidence enough to convict Metto Bektash of murder twenty times over, but now the Mussulmans say that, not being a leader, he should not be punished.

This argument might possibly have been brought forward against his arrest, but now that he is once in custody, and that his crimes have been clearly proved, to acquit him would be a simple condonation of murder.

As regards the three others, Alish Pehlivan should certainly be condemned to death, and Kutchuk Halil should be punished for robbery. The case against Achmet Tchaousch of Dorkovo is not so clear.

Considering the magnitude of the crime at Batak, it cannot be considered a bloodthirsty act of revenge to punish five men for it, and I cannot imagine public opinion being satisfied with anything less.

As yet the Commission does not seem to intend to punish anybody for the plundering, i.e., they legalize it. I do not say that it would be possible to punish all the persons who took part in the pillage, but still it would be perfectly possible to issue an order calling on the Turkish villagers to give up what they had taken. After a reasonable delay, those who failed to comply with this order might be punished.

For the Derrent affair, I imagine that the intention of the Commission is to make Tossoun Bey suffer for all. No doubt he was the Chief of the Bashi-Bazouks who destroyed the place, but one other man, a zaptieh named Muntaza, also deserves punishment.

From what I have stated above, your Excellency will perceive that the Mussulman members of the Commission have firmly resolved that the smallest amount of punishment shall be measured out to the guilty Bashi-Bazouks, and that, unless peremptory instructions are sent from the Porte, the result of all this long inquiry and of all the high-sounding promises of impartial justice, will be that two or three individuals will be punished, and others, who are not less guilty, will be allowed to return quietly to their homes to live on the property they amassed at the expense of their neighbours.

Putting aside the question of the bad effect such a failure of justice would have on European public opinion, it is also perfectly clear that the Turks, seeing they could despoil their Christian fellow-countrymen with almost perfect impunity, would become ten times more arrogant and oppressive than they were before, whereas the Rayahs would completely lose what little confidence they now possess in Turkish justice.

I shall, of course, use all my endeavours to persuade the Commission to punish the men I have mentioned, but I would respectfully suggest to your Excellency that, in case I should fail, I should be allowed to withdraw from the Commission, so as not to be associated, even indirectly, in a gross miscarriage of justice.

I need hardly say that this course would be resorted to only as a last expedient.

A case came before the Commission some days ago which shows how abominably justice is administered by the local courts.

Some Bulgarians of Karadja-Halil complained that forced labour had been imposed upon them by certain Turks.

A list given me by Mr. Calvert shows the names of thirty-four Turks who have been guilty of this offence; four were tried. Two were condemned to six weeks' imprisonment for having beaten some men who refused to work for them, and three have to pay 97 piastres, the value, according to the "Mazbata" of the Court, of the labour imposed.

The reason given for this latter inadequate penalty is that no force was used to make the men work, but that they were only influenced by fear. It requires the subtle

intellect of a Turkish Cadi to follow out the train of reasoning by which this marvellous decision is arrived at.

A number of men are called upon to do forced labour; those that object are beaten, and yet because the others, on account of their non-resistance, were not driven to the fields with blows, it is said that no force has been used.

I could not help remarking to the Commission that the decision seemed to me to be the legalization of forced labour; for in future a Turk might make a Christian work for him whenever he chose, and the only satisfaction the latter would get at law would be a small payment, calculated as if he had worked for regular wages, which would certainly not compensate him for his loss of time during the seven or eight weeks or more he would have to attend at the Court, in some town, possibly, many days' journey from his home.

Hamdi Bey, who is ignorant of the first principles of law, and who, I do not suppose, ever looked into the Code in his life, declared the decision to be perfectly regular, but I am glad to say that eventually the "Mazbata" was sent back to the Court for revision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 339.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopoli, November 21, 1876.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 19th instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Commission has given orders to Edhem Agha, a Yuzbashi, to proceed to the Turkish villages about Batak, and to call upon the inhabitants to give up at once whatever stolen property they may have in their possession; any person retaining any after this summons to be severely punished.

This order, if properly carried out, should have a good effect, and as it is impossible to punish all the plunderers it is as good a plan as could, under the circumstances, be suggested.

Mr. Stoney, who has lately visited Tchoumlek Yenikoui and Zindjirli, informs me that the building undertaken there by the Commission is being carried on satisfactorily, and he speaks in high terms of the two "Memours" sent to the latter village to superintend it.

Mr. Clarke also tells me that very fair progress is being made at Batak.

The Commission has decided to repair some of the saw-mills in the latter village, which will greatly facilitate the work of rebuilding.

The son of Achmet Agha is, I regret to say, still at large, and I see little chance of his being arrested.

Another man, also implicated in the Batak affair, a zaptié named Halil, cannot be found, but peremptory orders have been sent to the "Ihtiyar Medjlessi" of his village, Baratoun, to deliver him within a week.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 339.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopoli, November 24, 1876.

Sir,

ON hearing that Ismail Bey had been appointed President of the Commission which is to inquire into the conduct of Shevket Pasha in the district of Slimnia, I considered it my duty to address to your Excellency my telegram of yesterday, pointing out how undesirable this appointment was.

I have already informed your Excellency of the attitude assumed by Ismail Bey and of his opinions on the subject of the inquiries now instituted, and it is therefore not necessary for me to enter more fully into the subject.

In my despatch of the 19th instant I mentioned certain documents in Bulgarian which were supposed to throw light on the circumstances attending the Batak massacre.

On the 22nd instant Hodjazadé Mehmed Effendi came before the Commission, and on being questioned, said he had given those papers to Ismail Bey.

This man, who does not bear a good reputation here, has been charged by the Commission to purchase timber for the reconstruction of the burnt villages, and for that purpose he visited Rakitova, Kamenitza, and Bania.

He says that while at the first-named place he inquired whether there were any Christians who know anything about Batak. He was told there were two, and having sent for them, had their depositions taken down by a person knowing Bulgarian.

When at Bania he heard that there was a young man of Kamenitza who could give information. He accordingly sent for him and examined.

He declared that the deponents stated exactly what was put down in the papers, which were read over to them after their depositions had been made.

The paper purporting to contain the depositions of the man from Batak (Slatan) was, he said, taken at Bazardjik by one Osman Effendi.

When asked whether he had been ordered by Ismail Bey to get this information he replied in the negative, and added that he had been merely prompted by patriotic motives.

He then proceeded to deliver a long discourse on the insurrection in general, in which he declared that the Bulgarians, having been unable to attain their end by force, were now trying what could be done by calumniating the Mussulmans.

He alluded to his having used exactly the same language to me when I met him more than two months ago at Bazardjik.

At the close of his sermon, Ikiades Effendi proposed to ask him whether he entertained any feelings of animosity towards the Bulgarians, but the President would not allow the question, saying that it would be improper to wound the man's patriotic sentiments. Ikiades Effendi maintained his point, and a most violent discussion arose.

Both Saadoullah Bey and Hamdi Bey asserted vehemently that there was no evidence of a fraud having been committed, and that all Mehmed Effendi could be accused of was a trivial error in judgment in going about the country obtaining evidence without the knowledge or sanction of the Commission. The documents, they declared, were not of a nature to convince the Commission of the guilt or innocence of the persons now on trial, and that therefore they could not be considered as fraudulent. Forgetting, apparently, that whatever might be the effect of the documents, the intention of the person who presented them was what had really to be considered.

At last it was decided that Mehmed Effendi's examination should be continued, but on the following day the Commission was occupied with other important business, and he could not consequently be called.

I see no reason for disbelieving the sworn evidence of the Bulgarians, had they really deposed what was put down in the documents,—there was no reason why they should have subsequently denied it. Only one man said that, having been intimidated by the Turks, he made a deposition in accordance with the orders he had received, the others declared that they had told the "Effendi" exactly the same story as they had told the Commission.

Mehmed Effendi is known to be one of the most fanatical Turks of Philippopoli. He was a member of Salim Effendi's Special Commission, and disagreeable stories are told about his doings at that time. Unfortunately he possesses very considerable influence.

The whole of this affair is bad, and does little credit to those who had a hand in it. If Mehmed Effendi's patriotism urged him to do his best for his fellow-countrymen now in prison, he should have gone openly to the Commission, and should have stated that such and such men could give important information.

When the question arose about awaiting Ismail Bey's return before examining the matter at all, the President said that it was necessary to find out from him who gave him the papers. This plan was resisted, and immediately afterwards Mehmet Effendi appeared and gave the above-mentioned account of what had taken place. When he came, none of the Christian members certainly knew what his business was, how had it therefore become suddenly known that he was the person incriminated? Either, therefore, Ismail Bey had not stated before leaving who had given him the paper, or he had only told the President, who kept the information from his colleagues.

I yesterday had a long conversation with Saadoullah Bey, in which I urged him as strongly as I could to bring the Batak and Dervent cases to an end, if possible, by

the time the Conference commenced its sittings. I likewise dwelt upon the necessity of punishing the persons chiefly compromised.

I have before stated that I thought it very probable that Achmet Agha and Achmet Tchaoush, of Kara Boulak, would be condemned; from what Saadoullah Bey said to me I now have more hopes that Metto Bektash may share the same fate, though I am by no means so certain of Alish Pehlivan.

I hope by the middle of next week to be able to give your Excellency some idea of when the Batak case may be brought to a close. The summary of it has been made, but, not having been well drawn up by the Secretary charged with that duty, many alterations have to be made.

As regards my going to Slimnia, to attend the Commission there, I venture to think that, for the present, my presence is, perhaps, more useful here, as it is just at the close of the inquiry, when it really becomes necessary to watch the proceedings most carefully. I consequently beg most respectfully to suggest to your Excellency that Mr. Vice-Consul Brophy would be perfectly competent to attend the sittings at Slimnia, as he is well up in all the details of the Boyadji-Keui case.

Should your Excellency, however, still deem it expedient that I should go to Slimnia, I would suggest that some one should take my place here.

I cannot as yet speak with certainty, but I have reason to believe, from what Saadoullah Bey told me, that a good many of the Bulgarians still in prison will very shortly be released.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 4 in No. 339.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Philippopolis, November 24, 1876.

Sir,

THREE girls, natives of Batak, were brought before the Commission a few days ago from Nevrokop, where they had been converted to Islamism and married.

They wore the "yashmak," and when asked their names gave the Turkish ones they had adopted and declared they did not know what their former names had been; they said they had gone to Nevrokop of their own free will and wished to remain Mussulmans.

Some discussion arose about the course which should be pursued, and there was considerable difference of opinion on the subject of the law, or rather regulation, by which these matters of conversion are settled.

On the one hand it was stated that the rule observed at the Porte was that the convert should be lodged in the house of an Imam, where she could be visited by her relations and by the priest, in the presence, however, of a Mussulman woman, and on the other, that she should be placed in a neutral house for a period of forty days.

Finally, the Mutessarif was asked his opinion, and he sent a Vizirial letter of Fuad Pasha, in which it was stated that the convert should be summoned before the "Medjliss-i-Idare," and could hold communication with her relations and the Bishop in a room assigned by the Council for the purpose.

The case is of course a peculiar one, and unlike the ones which are usually dealt with by the Porte, as though the girls positively assert that they went to Nevrokop of their own free will, their story cannot for a moment be accepted as true.

When Batak was sacked, it is perfectly well known that a number of girls were carried off, and it is not to be supposed that at that time these three, being animated with a sudden desire to become Mussulmans, went a four days' journey to Nevrokop to effect their purpose.

I suggested that the act of carrying the girls off was in itself an illegal one, but I was told that by Turkish law a man could not be punished for carrying off a woman, provided he married her.

I then suggested that the Bulgarian Bishop should be consulted, and to this the Commission assented. Yovantcho Effendi had an interview with him, and the day after the Bishop wrote to the Commission demanding that the girls should be handed over to him as they were Christians; this proposal was declined, and the Bishop was

invited to attend at the Commission on the following day, when he would have an opportunity of seeing the girls.

Yesterday the Bishop attended the Commission, and the girls having been called up, gave the same answers as they had done before, to the effect that they wished to remain Mussulmans. They were placed in a room apart for the Bishop to speak in private with them, and the latter asked that their "yasmaks" should be taken off, for, said he, "if they are veiled they are necessarily Mussulmans, and I have no right to interfere with them."

The point in itself appears trivial at first sight, but in reality it is an important one, as the veil has a signification, and actually implies that the wearer has adopted the Mussulman faith.

After much discussion the Mutessarif was sent for. He told the Commission the case was one which properly ought to have been left to the Medjliss, but that as regards the veils, under similar circumstances, he should have no hesitation in ordering them to be removed.

The final settlement of the case was adjourned to give the girls' few remaining relatives time to come down from Batak.

My impression is that the girls will now remain Mussulmans, but whether they do or not, there is no doubt that a good deal of bad feeling will be created by the case.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER BARING.

No. 340.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1342.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 7, 1876.*

I INFORMED your Lordship, by telegraph, of an inexplicable attempt made two nights ago to carry off the ex-Sultan Murad.

The persons arrested when penetrating into the Palace were two Turks, a Pole disguised as a Turkish woman, and Stavrides, formerly Capoudgian to Her Majesty's Embassy, dismissed for corruption some months ago, but it does not yet appear who were the originators of the plot, for the declaration made by all the prisoners that they were acting under the orders of the Russian Embassy can hardly deserve attention.

A steamer is stated to have been in readiness in the Bosphorus, with steam up, to carry off the ex-Sultan to Odessa, from whence he was to be conveyed to England, and orders and proclamations were to be issued from there in his name, as though he were the legal Sovereign.

For the last ten days a report had been spread that His Majesty was recovering, but, according to the best information I can obtain, his state appears to be more hopeless than ever.

The whole affair is involved in a mystery, which I have not yet been able to penetrate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 341.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1343.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 7, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a telegram from the Commission for defining the armistice in Servia to the Russian Ambassador, complaining of an alleged breach of the armistice by the Turkish troops, on the receipt of which from General Ignatiew, I telegraphed to Sir A. Kemball, instructing him to verify the facts of the case and to impress upon the Turkish Commander-in-chief the absolute necessity of conforming to the decisions of the Commission.

Sir A. Kemball has telegraphed to me that the Commissioners had informed him

of these complaints from Belgrade, and that, as far as he was yet informed, the blame appeared to lie as much on the side of the Servians as on that of the Turks.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P.S.—I have the honour to inclose the copy of a further telegram which I have just received from Sir A. Kemball on the subject.

H. E.

Inclosure 1 in No. 341.

The Armistice Commission in Servia to General Ignatiew.

Belgrade, le 22 Novembre / 4 Decembre 1876.

(Télégraphique.)

LA Commission en établissant la ligne de démarcation en avant de Yankova Klissura a laissé aux Serbes la position entière du bassin de Cucale et a fixé comme limite de leurs avant-postes la crête montagneuse qui passe par Cerdak et Stabulka. Bien que cette décision ait été officiellement notifiée le 25 Novembre au quartier-général Ottoman dans la forme la plus privée et avec un envoyé, quartier-général Serbe nous informe que le Lieutenant-Colonel Ramzi Boy s'est présenté le 3 Décembre aux avant-postes Serbes établis sur la Blatainilyka en avant de la ligne fixée, a pris des dispositions de combat avec deux bataillons et a obligé les Serbes à abandonner un terrain qui leur avait été officiellement conservé. La Commission considère comme indispensable que cet officier supérieur dont la conduite pouvait provoquer un conflit sanglant si les Serbes n'avaient cédé à la force soit traité suivant toute la rigueur des lois militaires s'il n'est couvert par un ordre supérieur dont on devait rechercher l'origine.

Inclosure 2 in No. 341.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Nisch, December 7, 1876, 2·10 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

REMZI BEY a été destitué de son commandement indépendent de Kurshumlie pour avoir menacé les Serbes, ce qui a eu lieu, disait la Commission, non pas 3 Décembre mais 30 Novembre. Acte d'hostilité n'a pas été commis. D'autre côté les Serbes auraient insisté que les habitants des deux villages Musulmans de Stabula et Trebonié qui se trouvent sur la ligne de démarcation d'abord décrétée par la Commission devraient quitter leurs demeures et se retirer ailleurs en Turquie dans l'espace de trois jours. Je crois être l'intention de la Commission que ces deux villages resterient neutres; les Turcs ont accepté et observeront strictement la zone nouvellement établie du côté de Cucale, quoique tout le terrain y compris soit territoire Turc jamais tenu militairement par les Serbes. Détails par poste.

No. 342.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1344.)

Constantinople, December 7, 1876.

My Lord,

THIS morning two Greek gentlemen called upon me and put into my hands the accompanying address to your Lordship from the Greek community of Philippopolis, protesting against any part of the country to the south of the Balkans being included in a scheme of autonomy, and stating that any such attempt must lead to a civil war.

The town of Philippopolis is chiefly Greek, but the surrounding district is principally Bulgarian, and it having been there where the excesses of the Turks were the greatest, its exclusion from the operation of any measure intended to prevent their recurrence would be difficult.

Persons wholly unconnected with either party, who have recently returned from Philippopolis, inform me that the excitement of the Greeks and their irritation against the Bulgarians is intense, and there can be no doubt of the accompanying Memorial being the

expression of the feelings not only of the Greeks of that place, but of those of the whole Empire.

The dangers which many months ago I stated to your Lordship as likely to arise from the grant of exceptional privileges to a particular race appear to be becoming so manifest as to merit very serious consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 342.

Address from the Greek Community at Philippopolis to the Earl of Derby.

Philippopoli, le 24 *Novembre*, 1876.

Excellence,

LES événements regrettables dont une partie de notre Province a été dernièrement le théâtre, ayant ému profondément l'Europe, ont amené les Cabinets à croire que l'autonomie administrative de la Bulgarie et des autres provinces insurgées serait le meilleur moyen d'éviter des désordres à l'avenir.

Comme les meneurs de l'insurrection Bulgare ont choisi de préférence la Thrace pour théâtre de la révolte; afin de représenter cette province aux yeux de l'Europe comme pays Slave, il est à craindre que la diplomatie Européenne, se trouvant encore sous l'impression fâcheuse des récents massacres, voudra surtout favoriser les Bulgares révoltés et comprendre dans la Bulgarie la Province de Philippopoli, qui fait partie intégrante de la Thrace.

En prévision d'une pareille éventualité, nous soussignés Grecs, habitants du district de Philippopoli, protestons de la manière la plus formelle, au nom de tous nos concitoyens, contre toute délimitation qui placerait notre province sous l'administration Bulgare et déclarons que pareille délimitation aurait des conséquences fâcheuses, en ce sens, qu'elle provoquerait une nouvelle guerre civile, cette fois entre Grecs et Bulgares.

La politique pleine de prévoyance que le Cabinet de Sa Gracieuse Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne a suivi depuis le commencement de la crise Orientale nous fait espérer que l'attitude pacifique que nous avons observée jusqu'ici n'aboutira pas à notre humiliation, et que nos droits seront respectés.

Nous avons, &c.
(Signé) Les Habitants de Philippopoli.

Inclosure 2 in No. 342.

The Greek Metropolitan of Philippopolis to Messrs. Antonaki Bey Psychari and Basiliki Bey Sarakioti.

Philippopoli, le 24 *Novembre*, 1876.

Honorés Messieurs,

VOUS n'ignorez pas que l'insurrection Bulgare a éclaté dans notre province, à seule fin de représenter cette partie essentielle de la Thrace comme pays Slave et de comprendre la ville Grecque de Philippopoli avec les villages environnants dans le Royaume Bulgare que les meneurs rêvent de fonder en Orient.

Vous n'ignorez pas non plus que nous avons hésité à nous départir du rôle de simples spectateurs des manœuvres Slaves, que nous nous sommes assigné, convaincus que le monde civilisé flétrirait, comme elles le méritent, ces velléités Panslavistes.

En présence toutefois de la récente tournure que viennent de prendre les événements et de l'incertitude dans laquelle nous sommes par rapport aux vues de l'Europe, nous avons cru devoir adresser aux Grandes Puissances garantes une protestation, qui, tout en éclairant l'Europe sur les véritables dispositions des esprits dans notre province, puisse sauvegarder nos droits et nos intérêts nationaux contre toute atteinte et prévenir des complications et des dangers qui ne manqueraient pas de naître d'une interprétation erronnée de notre abstention et de notre silence.

Confiants dans les sentiments patriotiques qui vous animent, nous avons pris la liberté de vous nommer, comme nous vous nommons par la présente, nos représentants permanents à Constantinople et de vous charger du soin de remettre, personnellement, aux Représentants d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de Grande Bretagne, d'Italie et de Russie la protestation que nous avons l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-incluse, en les priant de notre part de vouloir bien la soumettre à la haute appréciation de leurs Gouvernements respectifs.

Dans l'espoir que vous saisirez toute occasion favorable pour soutenir nos droits,

auprès de la diplomatie Européenne et pour lui donner tous les renseignements qu'elle pourrait vous demander sur l'état de notre province, nous vous prions, &c.

(Pour les Habitants de la Province de Philippopoli),
(Signé) Le Métropolitain Grec de Philippopolis.

No. 343.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 24. Political.) *Odessa, December 2, 1876.*

My Lord,

I HAVE little to report in addition to my late political despatches.

Of the six corps d'armée mobilized four are to go to Kishenef in Bessarabia, forming an army of about 200,000 men, and the other two are for coast defence of this part and of the Crimea.

Six hundred torpedoes are said to have been laid down in the Bay of Odessa. I believe they are all fired at will from electric batteries.

An electric light has been fixed which can throw a light over the whole bay, and so show any boat attempting to pick up the torpedoes.

The total number of conscripts fixed for this year is 196,000. Those drawn in the Province of Kherson, in which Odessa is situated, are not to be allowed, as is usual, to go home on leave, but are to join the army at once.

The commissariat arrangements are generally spoken of as defective.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E STANLEY.

No. 344.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 283. Confidential.) *Athens, December 4, 1876.*

My Lord,

MY despatch No. 277 of the 25th ultimo contained a version of M. Contostavlos' statement to the Chamber respecting the policy of the Hellenic Government in view of the present state of Turkey, which substantially coincides with the version which he had telegraphed to M. Gennadius for communication to your Lordship, and which you inclosed to me in your despatch No. 103 of the 14th ultimo.

I was shortly afterwards informed by my Ottoman colleague that he had remonstrated with M. Contostavlos with respect to the tone and terms of the statement in question, more particularly taking exception to the free use which he had made of the term "Grèce esclave," as applied to the Greek subjects of Turkey.

M. Contostavlos appears to have answered that it had certainly not been his intention to say anything offensive to the Ottoman Government, but that the terms "Grèce libre" and "Grèce esclave" had become conventional in Greece when talking of the Greeks of the Kingdom and of those who were still subjects of Turkey, and that he had merely employed them in that sense. He further expressed his readiness to give any satisfaction in the matter which Photiades Bey might desire, and his regret at having used words which might bear an offensive meaning.

That M. Contostavlos should have been in such a hurry to telegraph his statement *in extenso* to M. Gennadius, and no doubt also to the other Hellenic legations, shows that his object must have been fully as much to attract the attention of foreign Powers to the importance of giving satisfaction to the aspirations of the Hellenic race as to recommend the policy of the Hellenic Government to the support of the Chamber. He is a man of singular simplicity and earnestness, the interests of Greece and of Hellenism and the dread of Slavonic encroachments being ever uppermost in his thoughts.

Indeed the alleged intrigues of Russia or of the Slavonic societies with a view to ingulf as many districts to the south of the Balkans as possible within the Slavonic zone have for some time past been viewed with the greatest alarm by the Hellenic Government and by the Hellenic people in general, and it is firmly believed that the so-called Bulgarian insurrection had been purposely fomented in the neighbourhood

of Philippopolis in order that the limits of Bulgaria might thenceforth be considered to include the districts in which it had broken out.

The supposed chain, or network, of these intrigues, which are said to have been carried on with great skill and persistency for many years, has been forcibly exposed and denounced in a pamphlet entitled "Attention aux Balkans," which was published some weeks since either at Bucharest or at Constantinople. Several copies of it were sent from Constantinople to politicians here, where its appearance made a considerable sensation. Both M. Contostavlos and M. Simos sent their respective copies to me on the same day for my perusal; and the former had even talked of instructing M. Gennadius to translate it into English for the information of the British public, when he heard that an English translation was being made at Constantinople.

I had not hitherto noticed it in my official correspondence, as I supposed your Lordship's attention would have been called to it from the place of its publication; and I trust that such may have been the case, as I have not been able to purchase a copy here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 345.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 284. Confidential.) *Athens, December 6, 1876.*

My Lord,

COLONEL BECKER, an ex-officer of the Russian army, who, after serving in Mexico and in Egypt, has, I believe, been acting as General Tchernaieff's Chief of the Staff in Servia, and who is now in the Servian service, arrived here some twelve days ago, and was permitted to pay his respects to the King. He also visited some of the Greek Ministers, and inspected the artillery barracks, and obtained as much information as he could respecting the strength and organization of the Greek army and the feelings of the Greek people.

He gave out that he was not charged with any mission; and his principal object appears to have been to ascertain whether any assistance could be procured for Servia in Greece.

He has already left, and I am told that he was much disappointed at finding how little had been done here in the way of military preparations, and how little sympathy was entertained for the Servian cause.

It may be of more importance to mention to your Lordship that four German officers, two of whom are M. von Wedel and M. von Alten, have been in Greece for some weeks past, and have been engaged in taking military sketches and plans in different parts of the country, including plans of the fortress and of the remaining fortifications at Corfu. I also learn that they expect to be shortly joined by two other German officers.

It is not easy to understand what object the German Government can have in sending the above officers here on such a mission.

M. von Wedel is probably the same officer who was mentioned in Mr. Wyndham's despatch No. 153, Confidential, of the 4th of July last, as having been supposed to be engaged in the transmission of arms to Montenegro through Corfu with the knowledge of the German Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 346.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 880.) *Foreign Office, December 15, 1876.*

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 1309 of the 23rd ultimo, respecting the appointment of Ismail Bey to proceed to Boyadjikeui to inquire into the conduct of Chefket Pasha at that village, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's

Government approve your having intimated to Safvet Pasha that they would not be satisfied with an inquiry in which no Christian took part.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 347.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, December* 15, 1876.

M. COUMOUNDOUROS, who has reconstructed his Ministry with all his former colleagues, except M. Zaimis' two friends, called upon me to-day to warn me that if war breaks out between Russia and Turkey he would not be able to restrain Hellenic populations of European Turkey and Crete from rising, unless he is authorized to assure them that England will take their interests under her protection and secure for them the same privileges as for the Slavs.

I have told him that (this?) looks like an intended change of policy, although he declared it was not, and promised to do his utmost to prevent a rising. The King, to whom I communicated the above privately, has sent me word that the Prime Minister must have expressed himself too strongly, and that he is convinced that no change is intended, and will not permit any.

I have sent copy of this telegram to Constantinople.

No. 348.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 17.)

(No. 590.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December* 12, 1876.

I HAVE the honour herewith to inclose to your Lordship a translation of an article published in the "Golos" on the steps which it will be necessary to take to insure the pacification of the disturbed districts in Turkey.

The article insists that the Governors of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria must be Christians, and, if possible, natives of those provinces; calls especial attention to the question of the land tenure, which the "Golos" (referring for a precedent to the administrative act for Syria, agreed to by all the Powers in 1861) declares to be strictly within the competence of the Conference, and concludes by reiterating its opinion that it will be impossible to inaugurate the necessary reforms without an occupation of the provinces in question by an European force, which alone can serve "as a pledge and guarantee" of the general peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 348.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of $\frac{\text{November 29}}{\text{December 10}}$ 1876.

LES JOURNAUX RUSSES.—TOUTES les feuilles de notre capitale, de même que la "Gazette de Moscou," consacrent des réflexions au discours du Prince de Bismarck dans la séance du 5 Décembre du Parlement de l'Empire d'Allemagne. Nous signalons ces articles, sans les résumer, en nous bornant à constater l'heureuse impression produite sur nos organes de publicité par les déclarations du Chancelier Allemand.

Dans un article de fond faisant suite à l'étude sur la mission de la Conférence de Constantinople que nous avons analysée il y a quelques jours, la "Voix" résume ses appréciations sur les moyens à employer par les Puissances pour rendre la paix et la tranquillité aux trois provinces Turques insurgées.

Selon l'opinion de notre confrère l'autonomie administrative qu'il s'agit de concéder à l'Herzégovine, à la Bosnie et à la Bulgarie doit nécessairement avoir pour base le règlement équitable de la question agraire dans ces trois provinces.

Nous nous abstiendrons de reproduire la partie de l'article de la "Voix" qui expose la situation actuelle de la population Chrétienne par rapport à la tenure du sol, et qui réfute l'opinion que les Délégués des Gouvernements Européens réunis en Conférence

n'auraient pas mission d'intervenir dans des questions de ce genre. On a bien agi ainsi en 1861, dit la "Voix," lors de l'intervention des Puissances à l'occasion des troubles de Syrie; l'Article 6 du Statut Administratif de cette province élaboré par les Gouvernements Européens et approuvé par la Porte stipule en effet: "L'abolition de tous les privilèges féodaux et en particulier ceux appartenant aux Mokatadjis." Il ne s'agit donc que d'appliquer à l'Herzégovine, à la Bosnie, et à la Bulgarie ce même principe, et l'on y est d'autant plus fondé que les prérogatives exorbitantes des propriétaires fonciers de ces provinces reposent en grande partie sur des usurpations, et ne peuvent pas même être justifiées au point de vue du droit Musulman.

Le règlement équitable de la question agraire, poursuit la "Voix," doit faciliter considérablement les autres réformes dans l'ordre proprement administratif, dont notre confrère ne parle qu'en termes très sommaires, en appuyant cependant sur les deux points suivants.

Il fait observer en premier lieu qu'une des principales garanties à accorder aux trois provinces doit consister dans la nomination de Gouverneurs Chrétiens. Le droit de nommer ces fonctionnaires pourrait à la rigueur être attribué à la Porte, mais sous la réserve expresse que les choix du Gouvernement Ottoman fussent ratifiés par les grandes Puissances et que les Gouverneurs dussent rester à leur poste pendant cinq ans au moins; une destitution avant ce terme ne pourrait avoir lieu qu'en vertu d'une sentence d'un Tribunal au sein duquel les Puissances devraient être représentées. Il serait, de plus, fort à désirer que les Gouverneurs fussent pris parmi la population Chrétienne de chacune des trois provinces. C'est là une condition que le Gouvernement Français avait réclamée en 1861 en faveur de la Syrie, et qui, malgré les arguments fort persuasifs de M. de Thouvenel, n'a point été adoptée par les autres Puissances. Espérons qu'il n'en sera pas de même maintenant par rapport à la Bulgarie, la Bosnie, et l'Herzégovine.

Le second point sur lequel insiste la "Voix," c'est la question de l'occupation. Malgré tous les arguments contraires, dit-elle, nous restons persuadés que sans l'occupation il n'est pas possible d'introduire en Bosnie et en Bulgarie les réformes nécessaires et de doter ces provinces d'un régime administratif autonome. Seule la présence d'une force militaire étrangère peut garantir l'exécution des volontés de l'Europe, seuls des Administrateurs Européens sont en état de créer un ordre de choses compatible avec la dignité de l'Europe. Ce qui en 1860 a été fait en Syrie est plus indispensable encore maintenant dans l'intérêt des deux provinces, victimes de tant de crimes. Que l'Europe détermine les droits et les obligations des armées d'occupation, qu'elle fixe l'ordre de choses qui doit être introduit en son nom, mais l'occupation des provinces par des troupes Européennes est parfaitement indispensable; ni les promesses solennelles de la Porte, ni une Constitution promulguée à grand bruit ne sauraient la remplacer, car elle est le gage et la garantie de la paix de l'Europe.

No. 349.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 17.)

(No. 591.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December* 12, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith a copy of an address from the city of Warsaw to the Emperor, signed by 800 persons, including the most influential members of the nobility, as well as of the commercial and financial community.

This is the first political manifestation of the Polish society for many years favourable to Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 349.

Newspaper Extract.

L'ADRESSE DE VARSOVIE.—On lit dans le "Nouveau Temps:"—

"Le 'Messager Officiel' publie un document d'une grande portée, c'est l'adresse à l'Empereur des habitants de Varsovie, qui est signée des noms les plus influents de l'aristocratie, du clergé, des tribunaux, du commerce et de la finance de Pologne, &c. Nous

savons de source certaine, que la pensée de cette démonstration est toute spontanée. La signification en est doublement importante, d'abord parce que l'adresse en question est la première manifestation directe de la société Polonaise après quinze années de silence qui ont suivi de malheureux épisodes; ensuite parce que cette adresse répond au reproche d'indifférence et même d'opposition pour la cause Slave que l'on formulait à tort contre les Polonais. Dans leur adresse ils disent:—'Comme membres de la même famille Slave, nous nous rangerons avec nos frères de race autour de vous, Sire, avec un entier dévouement pour la réalisation de vos augustes desseins . . . . nous serons prêts à tous les sacrifices que vous pourrez demander à votre peuple pour l'amélioration du sort des frères du Sud.' Ces nobles paroles, prononcées dans un moment où les ennemis cherchent à souffler la discorde parmi nous, servent à démontrer que l'œuvre de libération entreprise en Orient par l'Empereur rencontrera un dévouement unanime dans tout le pays."

Voici l'adresse de la ville de Varsovie à Sa Majesté l'Empereur:—

"Sire,

"Les paroles prononcées à Moscou par votre Majesté Impériale ont trouvé un écho dans nos cœurs, et nous Polonais, nous unissons sincèrement l'expression de notre très-fidèle dévouement à toutes celles qui de toutes les parties de votre vaste Empire sont adressées à votre Majesté Impériale.

"Si les généreux efforts de votre Majesté Impériale pour éviter à l'humanité les calamités de la guerre demeurent sans succès, nous seront prêts à tous les sacrifices que vous pourrez demander à votre peuple pour l'amélioration du sort de nos frères du Sud.

"Membres d'une même famille Slave, nous nous rangerons avec nos frères de race autour de vous, Sire, avec un entier dévouement pour la réalisation de vos augustes desseins.

"Nous avons l'honneur de déposer aux pieds de votre Majesté Impériale cette expression sincère de nos sentiments de fidèles sujets."

L'adresse est signée par environ 800 noms appartenant aux classes les plus élevées de la société Polonaise, noblesse, commerce et finance. L'Empereur a gracieusement fait remercier les signataires.

No. 350.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 17, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, December 17, 1876.*

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has called to-day and given me positive assurances that no change of policy is intended.

He says that he has reason to suspect that General Ignatiew will endeavour to persuade the Conference to extend Bulgaria so as to include Hellenic districts, and even as far as Salonica, and that Hellenic Government will be most grateful if the British Plenipotentiaries will oppose such pretensions, and insist upon the Greeks being placed upon a footing of perfect equality with the Slavs, and admitted to the same privileges.

A copy of this is sent to Sir H. Elliot.

No. 351.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 17, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 17, 1876.*

COLONEL HOME wishes following to be communicated to Sir Linton Simmons:—

"Captain Ardagh is now detached for employment under Lord Salisbury. I must have three more officers as soon as possible."

No. 352.

Consul Skene to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 8. Political.)

My Lord, *Aleppo, November 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch No. 28, reporting to Sir Henry Elliot on the breaking of the windows of houses in the Christian quarter, including those of the Russian Consulate, by recruits marching to embark at Alexandretta for the seat of war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. SKENE.

Inclosure in No. 352.

Consul Skene to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Aleppo, November 20, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that on the 17th instant 350 recruits for the Turkish regular army were marched from here to embark at Alexandretta, and, on their way through the town, threw stones at six houses of the principal native Christians, breaking windows, and cursing the inmates. The Russian Consulate is in the same street, and was treated in like manner. The officers in charge of the detachment made no effort to check this conduct on the part of their soldiers.

The Russian Consul was on the point of leaving Aleppo, and the Russian arms had been removed to the house of the Acting Consul.

The Governor-General, Emin Pasha, and the Military Commandant, Omer Pasha, immediately went to the Russian Consul and furnished him with an escort of fifty cavalry soldiers under the command of a Major to accompany him to Alexandretta. They also sent officers to take the place of those who had marched with the recruits, and those latter officers were recalled to be tried for their connivance at the disorderly conduct of the recruits, fifteen of whom were brought back to Aleppo under arrest.

There seems to be no reason to infer that any insult to the Russian Consulate was intended, and it is probable that it was not distinguished from other houses in the Christian quarter through which the recruits were marching. The throwing of stones by troops at the houses of Christians is, of course, quite unjustifiable, but it may be remarked in explanation, if not in justification of such conduct, that it was indulged in by young men who have as yet no experience of military discipline, and that they were surrounded by a crowd of mothers, sisters, wives, and children, bewailing their departure for the seat of war with screaming imprecations on the Christians who caused the war.

In the consideration of these and similar incidents it may likewise be borne in mind that the Arab population of North Syria is not well affected towards its Turkish conquerors, in defence of whom recruits have now been forcibly levied in much greater numbers than are usually drawn from this province, and without making the habitual allowance for those who have families unprotected by other relatives.

The immemorial hostility of Mussulmans against Christians, which has been almost dormant here for some years, is, moreover, at present aroused and exacerbated by political events, more or less truthfully reported by Arabic newspapers on some occasions, and always incorrectly appreciated by the class from which troops are enlisted.

The reluctance with which Arab recruits join the Turkish army is so well known and taken into account that in this instance a guard of 100 old Turkish soldiers was sent to prevent desertion on the road to Alexandretta.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. SKENE.

No. 353.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 8.)
(Decypher.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, December 3, 1876.*

THE detachment mentioned in No. 7 despatch, as having arrived at Tiflis, consisted of three battalions or eighteen hundred men; these came from Alexandropol, and will go to Poti; this will make the force at that place at present about 4,000.

Poti is being now fortified; torpedoes are to be placed there. Fortifications are also being made near Orpiri at junction of River Rion, with the Ukkai on road mentioned in despatch No. 6, the object being to prevent seizure of Poti and Kutais. Fortifications are also being made on the crest of the Luran Pass, about 160 versts from Poti, on road to Tiflis. 2,000 militia have been called out at Guril, near Batum.

The reinforcements expected from Russia have not as yet arrived; bad weather prevents their passing the Kasbek. As far as I am able to understand, the Russian battalions on the frontier are still on a peace footing, and will only be brought to their full strength after the arrival of the reinforcements above-mentioned. These will, it is still said, number about 40,000.

There is an error in despatch No 6, for fifty-six miles, read sixty-six miles.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. S. RICKETTS.

No. 354.

Consul Barker to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 39. Political.)
My Lord, *Canea, Crete, December 4, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch, addressed by me this day to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, reporting that great discontent exists in this island on account of the policy pursued by the Governor-general in regard to the debts due by the country people, the reasons for his doing so, and the non-fulfilment of the functions of the local Tribunals.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

Inclosure in No. 354.

Consul Barker to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Canea, Crete, December 4, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that great discontent exists in this island generally, particularly in the districts of Canea and Rattimo, among all classes of the population, on account of the policy pursued by his Excellency Réouf Pasha in regard to the debts of the country people to the banks and the merchants, and it is insinuated that his Excellency favours the absolute non-payment of moneys due by them (which last is a fact) in order to prevent an insurrection; but it is believed the contrary will be the case, because the peasants, who were always very punctual in discharging their obligations, will become demoralized and their creditors will lose all hold upon them, while the Government of the Porte itself will not gain anything by it.

The district of Candia is not exactly in the same position; the peasants there since the last insurrection have become richer and owe very little.

There is no doubt that enforcing payment has become a dead letter, and commerce and agriculture are at a standstill. The tribunals do not fulfil their functions; in the first place, because the Christians refuse to comply with the law by electing the Judges, declaring they are tired of waiting for an impartial action of the Tribunals, they being in a minority; and because the Mussulmans, being in a majority, strive to maintain that position and prevent justice being done.

On the other hand, were the Porte to grant the Petition of the Christian population and consent to the proposed "reforms" of allowing a greater number of Christians in the Assembly and the Tribunals, it would virtually abdicate its power as a governing body, and the same inequality would arise, but would be then in favour of the Christians.

This the Government of the Sultan represented by the Governor-General (who, now *de facto*, rules without the Assembly) is not prepared to do.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. B. BARKER.

No. 355.

Mr. Wood to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 54. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Tunis, December 11, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to state that I have been confidentially informed by a native gentleman, who is in the confidence of the Tunisian Government, that the native gentry and ulemas have called its serious attention to the reported designs of Italy; and have urged it to adopt measures for its defence.

He said that they were prepared to raise a sufficient sum of money, by subscription, to purchase 50,000 rifles in England, but that the Government hesitated as to the means of effecting its purpose without creating additional alarm or giving offence to the Power whose aggressive designs they have reason to suspect. Pursuant to the plan under consideration, it was proposed to make verbal communications to the foreign agents, framed, more or less, in accordance with the known views and policy of their respective Governments with reference to Turkish affairs, since they directly interested every Mussulman, as all Mahommedans considered that they formed but one nation, and were consequently bound and commanded to defend the Sultan, who represented the Caliphate, against his enemies. Under these circumstances, the Tunisian Government could not foresee when it might be called upon to furnish its contingent of troops—a call which it would be compelled to obey to prevent a popular demonstration of dissatisfaction that may result in serious disorders and anarchy.

I observed to my informant that, in the presence of passing events, it was of the utmost importance that the Government should act with forbearance and caution. It was free to mature, in silence, its plan of defence if it apprehended danger. But, as there was still a hope that a war between Russia and Turkey may be averted, I saw no immediate necessity for making any communication, in the sense he stated, to the foreign Representatives, lest it should lead to misapprehensions on the part of some of them; nor for incurring an expense of from 100,000*l.* to 150,000*l.* in the purchase of arms, which, after all, may never be required.

I subsequently called upon General Khaïreddin; and in alluding to the article in the "Giowaïb," I asked him whether it was correct that it had produced a profound impression upon the minds of the native population. He replied that it had; and confirmed the statement of my informant, that the most prominent natives had waited upon him to draw his attention to the danger which menaced their country.

I likewise inquired whether he had mentioned the subject to my French colleague, and he stated that he had referred to it incidentally in the course of conversation, adding that, upon his asking M. Roustan whether France would intervene to prevent an Italian occupation of the Regency, he expressed an affirmative opinion.

I remarked to his Excellency that, whatever the secret policy of Italy might be, it could only be carried out in view of certain contingencies, involving the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire; but that as the Conference, to be held at Constantinople by the Great Powers, has for basis the integrity and independence of Turkey, and the Emperor of Russia has pledged his word of honour that he has no views of conquest, it was reasonable to suppose that the contingencies apprehended would not occur to afford an occasion to Italy to execute her designs upon this country.

The despondency, however, of General Khaïreddin equals his discouragement with respect to the future of Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RICHARD WOOD.

Inclosure in No. 355.

Translation of an extract from the "Gowaïb," an Arabic Paper, published at Constantinople.

WHEN M. Nigra quitted the Italian Embassy at Paris, which he held for ten years, the King sent him to Ems, where the Czar resided at the time. It was conceived that, as the relations between Great Britain and Russia were on the most friendly footing, it was in the interest of Italy to draw nearer to the latter Powers.

Among other observations, M. Nigra stated to Prince Gortchakow that it was as impossible to maintain the Treaty of Paris of 1856 as it was impossible to save the Ottoman Empire. It was, therefore, necessary to partition it between Austria and other Powers. Russia should establish her power as far as the Balkans (Bulgaria); and if Austria extended her frontiers towards the south, it was but just that Italy should receive a territorial compensation by the cession of the Trentino, which is on the frontiers of Austria towards the Tyrol. It is likewise a matter of necessity that Italy should take possession of the Regency of Tunis, it being a fact ascertained by experience that the possessor of Sicily cannot govern it unless he possesses also the coast of Africa opposite that island.

The foregoing are the opinions submitted by M. Nigra to Prince Gortchakow, who replied that the time was not far off when they may arrive at a similar understanding, &c.

No. 356.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 253. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, December 9, 1876.*

WHILE recently at Cettinjé Colonel Lennox received from the Montenegrin Minister for Foreign Affairs a copy of the proposed agreement between the Turkish and Montenegrin Commanders for the despatch of provisions to the town of Nichsich.

This agreement was ratified on the 6th instant. According to its stipulations, the civil population of the town is reckoned at three thousand (3,000). Each individual is to be victualled for sixty days at half an oke of all sorts of provisions per diem. The convoys are to start from Gatzko under Montenegrin escort, and are not to be allowed to communicate on the way with any of the Turkish forts. The journey may be effected in two days, and the convoys are to be strictly examined by the Montenegrins to prevent the smuggling of contraband of war. The men forming the provision train are, with the exception of the officers, to be unarmed. The operation is not to extend beyond the duration of fifteen days.

Preparations for carrying out this arrangement were set in hand at once.

On the 5th instant Moukhtar Pasha addressed a letter to Colonel Lennox, as President of the "Commission Arbitrale," in which he qualified the line of demarcation as "irréalisable;" and said that if the Commission "had taken the trouble to go over the ground and attend to the arguments, written and verbal, of his Delegates," they would never have laid down such a line. He ended by saying that he had referred the whole matter to Constantinople.

On the 6th instant Colonel Lennox, in the name of the Commission, telegraphed the substance of this letter, I believe, to Sir Henry Elliot; adding, as I understand, that the members of the Commission considered their labours at an end, and proposed to take their departure by the first convenient opportunity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 357.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 254. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, December 9, 1876.*

COLONEL LENNOX has been so good as to communicate to me a despatch, marked Confidential, which he addressed to your Lordship on the 6th instant, reporting

the substance of his conversation with Prince Nicholas respecting the rectification of the frontier of Montenegro, and transmitting a map on which the Colonel has laid down the line of frontier as desired by His Highness, and has indicated also the extent of the additional territory to which the Austro-Hungarian Government would, he believes, offer no opposition.

From what M. Durando tells me of his conversations with the Austrian Delegate, it seems that the latter thought that, as long as he carried his point with the Demarcation Commission as to the non-cession of the Suttorina to Montenegro, it did not much matter what other concession he assented to. M. Durando has several times expressed to me his surprise at the facility with which the Austrian Delegate agreed to the very favourable acceptance by the Commission of the Montenegrin pretensions on the side of the Herzegovina. From the language consistently held at Cettigné by Colonel Thümmel as to the views of the Austro-Hungarian Government respecting annexations of Herzegovinian territory by Montenegro, we should neither of us have anticipated that their Delegate to the "Commission Arbitrale" would be permitted to consent to a line of demarcation so favourable to the future claims of the Principality. The demeanour of the Austrian Delegate indicated that his Government had no other anxiety than for the Suttorina.

The fact is that, beyond conferring on Prince Nicholas the legitimate sovereignty over certain hill tribes who have long been his *de facto* subjects, and placing in his hands the plain and fortress of Nichsich, the extension of the Montenegrin frontier on the Herzegovinian side will not give His Highness anything particularly valuable. The natural reflection of any stranger visiting this portion of the Herzegovina for the first time is one of amazement that such a barren wilderness should be considered worth fighting for. It has certainly been a fatal policy to the Turks that they should have expended such vast sums on the erection of forts and blockhouses in what was practically an enemy's country. The retention and provisioning of these fortified places (which are perfectly useless in a military point of view) have necessitated an expenditure of men and money on the part of the Porte, the true amount of which will never, I believe, be accurately known.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 358.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 874.)

My Lord, *Vienna, December 14, 1876.*

YOU will doubtless have received a Report from Her Majesty's Consulate at Belgrade, respecting the detention of an Austrian steamer touching there, and the landing from her, through the interference of the police, of fifty-seven Bulgarians, proceeding to Galatz, under the charge of an Austrian-Hungarian Commissionary of Police.

These men, who had been in Montenegro, subsequently went to Ragusa, where, as they were unable to obtain employment, and being in a state of destitution, they requested the authorities to send them to Galatz.

A story, however, having got abroad that they were being removed by the Ragusan authorities at the instigation of the Turkish Consul, and would be delivered up to the Governor of Roustchouck or of Widdin, arrangements were made at Belgrade, apparently under the sanction of the Servian authorities, for their removal from the steamer on its touching there, in defiance of the protest of the captain and of the police officer in charge of them.

On the news of this violation of the Austrian flag reaching Vienna, Count Andrassy immediately demanded satisfaction, and sent two monitors to Belgrade to enforce it; but, though the Bulgarians appear to have been imprisoned at the Prefecture, M. Ristics replied that they had landed of their own accord, and he offered to deliver them up to any Austro-Hungarian functionary who might be appointed to take charge of them.

Count Andrassy, however, has refused, under these circumstances, to receive them, unless they themselves address a request to the Austro-Hungarian Agent to have them conveyed as originally intended to Galatz, which will doubtless be arranged; and when they are embarked the Servian Government will be required to salute the Austro-Hungarian flag, and to make an apology for the detention of the steamer in which they arrived.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 359.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 870. Confidential.)

Buda-Pest, December 12, 1876.

My Lord,

THE reports received here from Constantinople represent Lord Salisbury as having accepted, in a great degree, the proposals of General Ignatiew as to the reforms to be introduced into the administration of the Christian Provinces of Turkey, and as to the guarantees which the Porte should be called upon to give for their being duly carried out.

I have cautioned Count Andrassy, however, against placing too implicit confidence in such rumours, as the Russian Ambassador may possibly hope to influence the opinions of the other members of the Conference in favour of his views by leading them to believe that Lord Salisbury does not consider them objectionable. His Excellency said, as he is also of this opinion, he has instructed Count Zichy to mention hereafter whether the statements he may report have been communicated to him by Lord Salisbury or by his Russian colleague.

In speaking upon the subject to-day, he said he had just been informed that his Lordship had accepted the principle of a foreign police force being put at the disposal of the proposed European Commission, and had suggested the expediency of employing Roumanian troops for the purpose, as being in some measure subjects of the Sultan. His Excellency said, at the same time, that he could not concur in such an opinion, if it were really entertained, as he believed the Porte would more readily consent to the employment of even Russians than of Roumanians in such a service.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 360.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 550. Most Confidential.)

Berlin, December 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I ASKED Herr von Bülow what he thought of General Ignatiew's Reform Bill, and whether Prince Bismarck shared Count Andrassy's objections to it?

Herr von Bülow said that the German Government would continue to give a general support to the Russian proposals without impeding the progress of negotiation by initiating objections or raising difficulties, while the English and Russian Plenipotentiaries were completing their task. Great confidence was felt in the Marquis of Salisbury, and the latest news from Russia showed that the national excitement had considerably subsided, and that a general desire for a pacific solution was taking the place of the late war fever since the Conference had entered upon its preliminary discussions.

There was now every reason to expect that the Guaranteeing Powers would agree—it remained to be seen whether the Porte would accept and act upon their advice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 361.

Mr. Lumley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 18.)

(No. 124. Confidential.)

Brussels, December 16, 1876.

My Lord,

WITH reference to the proposed occupation of Bulgaria, it has been suggested that the small neutral Powers, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, might furnish contingents for a force of gendarmerie which might suffice for that purpose.

The suggestion, as far as regards this country, has not been favourably received by

the Belgian Press: the "Independance Belge," treating it as an improbable rumour, takes no further notice of it, while the "Echo du Parlement," the principal organ of the Liberal party, referring that report, says:—

"We do not know what is the meaning of the strange suggestion that Bulgaria should be occupied by a neutral Power like Belgium or Switzerland; Heaven preserve us, however, from such an honour, unless it is intended to confer the command on General 'Lamèche,' who would thus have an opportunity of displaying his military genius and getting rid of the spleen, to which we doubtless owe his late wild lucubrations."

General Lamèche is the *nom-de-plume* of a military writer who has lately published the account of an imaginary invasion of Belgium in 1878 by France and Germany, in the style of the "Battle of Dorking."

I am, however, informed, on undoubted authority, that the Belgian Government has been lately sounded, though indirectly and unofficially, with the view of ascertaining whether, in the first place, Belgium could furnish a certain number of magistrates who would be prepared to go to Bulgaria should it be decided, with the consent of the Porte, to employ foreign judges in the Tribunals of that Province; and, secondly, whether Belgium could provide a contingent for a corps of gendarmerie, or police force, to which Holland and Switzerland might be invited to furnish contingents, for the purpose of carrying out the decisions of those Tribunals, and for the preservation of order throughout the Province.

The Belgian diplomatist to whom this suggestion was made said there would be no difficulty in finding in Belgium as many magistrates as might be required for Bulgaria, in the same way as they had furnished judges for the Egyptian Tribunals, whose assistance in that country was highly prized, but that he imagined the neutral character of Belgium would preclude her from sending any portion of her army to Bulgaria. It was possible, however, that a corps of volunteers might be raised in Belgium (like those that were formerly employed in Mexico) as well as in Switzerland, though he doubted whether Holland, with the Atchin war on her hands, could spare volunteers for Turkey. It was evident, however, that such a corps could only act in Bulgaria after the disarmament of the population; but if the Turkish Government consented to that disarmament, and would carry it out, an effectual police force might doubtless be sent from Belgium to Bulgaria, provided the men were well paid, and had good security for their pay.

General Thibaut, the Minister of War, to whom I have spoken on the subject, told me that on seeing the report in the papers he had examined the suggestion, merely as a military problem, and that in his opinion, which, however, was purely personal and from a professional point of view, it would be utterly impossible to intrust the responsible duties with which the proposed foreign legion would be charged to volunteers. No doubt, at the present time, a considerable number of spirited youths, men out of employment, and needy adventurers, might be found in Belgium, ready to go anywhere for pay and the excitement of change and fighting. The war in Atchin was, he believed, at present chiefly carried on by recruits of that class from Belgium. But the men required in Bulgaria were not wanted for war, but for the maintenance of peace; and it was only in the ranks of a well-disciplined army that the materials for such a corps could be found.

M. Malou, who has also spoken to me on the subject, appears to consider the idea of sending to Bulgaria a corps of volunteers from the smaller neutral States as chimerical and impracticable; while the proposal to send to that country any portion of the regular army of Belgium would not only raise a most violent clamour throughout the country, but would inevitably bring about the dissolution of any Government that might suggest it.

On the other hand, M. Malou considered the proposed reform of the Tribunals of European Turkey, if it could be effected by the employment of European magistrates, as calculated to render the greatest benefit to Turkey. The attempt to abolish at one and the same time all the abuses of Turkish rule, would be an undertaking of such a colossal nature that its feasibility might well be doubted; but the establishment of an honest financial administration, and the improvement of the magistracy, were reforms of the highest importance, which, could they be effected, would be productive of vast and immediate advantage to Turkey. If, for instance, the belief in true justice could be brought home, as it were, to every family, it would lay the foundation of confidence in the efficacy of the other necessary reforms which may be subsequently introduced by the Porte. Should, therefore, the Powers and the Porte concur in the idea of employing Belgian Judges in carrying out the desired judicial reforms in Bulgaria,

there would be no difficulty in finding magistrates in this country well suited to that responsible duty.

In stating this, however, M. Malou said that his observations merely referred to the reports which had appeared in the newspapers, for no communication on the subject had been received by the Belgian Government from any quarter, and he was curious to know the precise quarter from whence the report had originated.

Thinking that it may be of interest to your Lordship to know what is the annual charge to the State for the corps of gendarmes employed in Belgium, I inclose a statement showing the details of the expense of that corps, which has been communicated to me by M. Berden, the Chief of the Belgian police.

On my asking him what he thought of the idea of raising a volunteer corps of gendarmerie in this country to be sent to Bulgaria, he said it would no doubt be feasible, but that it would naturally cost a much larger sum than that for which a corps could be raised and kept in Belgium.

In the first place, no men would enter such a service for less than double the pay of a gensdarmes in Belgium; and as the men of that corps had to find their own horses, the expense might possibly be trebled.

A force of 6,000 men is mentioned in the papers as likely to suffice for what is required in Bulgaria, supposing the Belgian contingent to be sent there to be double the actual strength of the corps in Belgium, or 3,161 men, the expense of that force at double the Belgian rate of pay, would be 12,000,000 or 18,000,000 francs, should the expense be threefold what it is in Belgium.

If, then, a Swiss contingent of the same strength were to be raised on the same terms, that would make an annual charge of 24,000,000 or 36,000,000 francs, as the case might be; of course in the event of this expense being borne or guaranteed by Powers, all difficulty on the subject of pay would be obviated; but if intended to be be borne by the Porte, not a man could be obtained for the corps, unless a sum equal to the annual pay of the force were previously deposted in Belgium by the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

Inclosure in No. 361.

Corps de Gendarmerie.

Force du corps—		
Officiers		60
Sous-officiers et gendarmes à cheval		1,125
" " à pied		566
Total		1,741
Dépense totale—		Fr. c.
La dépense totale que comporte cette force est		2,745,000 00
Habillement et équipement du cavalier—		
Habillement et équipement de chaque cavalier		665 04
" " cheval		1,150 00
Habillement et équipement du fantassin—		
Habillement et équipement de chaque fantassin		289 00
Solde—		
La solde journalière du cavalier est de		3 25
" " fantassin		2 85

No. 362.

Mr. Lumley to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 18.)

(No. 125. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Brussels, December* 16, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a Report from the Belgian Consul at Roustchouk, which has been communicated to me confidentially, giving an account of the steps taken by the Turkish authorities for laying in stores of provisions, winter clothing, &c., at Widdin and other places, for the defence of which active measures are being taken.

Although at present the province is devoid of troops, it is expected that within a fortnight 150,000 men of the regular army will arrive in the vilayet, and will be distributed between Widdin, Roustchouk, Varna, the Dobroudscha, and Schumla; the fortresses, however, are said to be without a proper complement of guns and ammunition, and the want of officers is very great.

He describes the feeling of every class of the population to have reached the highest pitch of enthusiasm at the prospect of a war with Russia, states at the same time that perfect order reigns throughout the province, and that the Christians are unmolested.

The Bulgarians, he says, have been rendered unbearably insolent by the stir that has been made in their favour by Europe in general, and by Russia in particular, of which he considers them to be little worthy; nor, in his opinion, will the Bulgarians be capable of carrying out themselves the reforms which the Turkish Government propose to institute in the province.

The despatch concludes with an enumeration of various suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the subjects of the Porte, not only in Europe, but in Asia, which a long residence in Turkey induces him to suggest.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

Inclosure in No. 362.

The Belgian Consul at Rustchuk to Count d'Aspremont-Lynden.

M. le Ministre, *Roustchouk, le 4 Décembre*, 1876.

DEPUIS la conclusion de l'armistice l'occupation principale des autorités locales est de tacher par tous les moyens en leur pouvoir de masser des approvisionnements de bouche à Widdin, tels que farines, biscuits, &c., ainsi que des habillements d'hiver pour les troupes; en outre les armements dans tout le vilayet sont poussés avec activité, malgré le mauvais temps et l'hiver précoce qui règnent ici, on répare toutes ces forteresses et forts qui existaient ou en élève, et on en construit d'autres un peu partout. Cependant la province est complètement dégarnie de troupes, on dit partout que dans une quinzaine 150,000 hommes de troupes régulières doivent arriver et occuper les différentes positions du vilayet reportés comme suit: à Widdin, 40,000 hommes détachés des corps d'armée opérant en Serbie; le reste de Constantinople, savoir, 30,000 hommes pour Roustchouk, autant pour Chumla; Varna, 50,000 hommes pour la Dobrodja; on compte aussi sur 50,000 à 60,000 Bachi-Bazouks, Circassiens, et miliciens que ce vilayet peut fournir en cas de nécessité, mais en attendant armes et munitions de guerre font défaut; d'où et quand les aura-t-on? Voilà ce que chacun se demande. Les forts et les forteresses manquent de canons avec tout le nécessaire et on est complètement dépourvu d'officiers. Ici cependant tous sont d'opinion que la guerre avec la Russie est inévitablement imminente, et l'enthousiasme est à son comble; tous, petits et grands, riches et pauvres, gouvernants et gouvernés, se préparent à se battre, envisageant cette guerre comme leur salut ou leur perte, de là cet élan guerrier parmi tout ce qui est Musulman; malgré tout cela, grâce surtout à Rifaat Pacha, le Vali, la plus grande tranquillité règne dans le pays, les Chrétiens ne sont guère molestés, quoique les Bulgares soient devenus d'un arrogance et d'une insolence exaggérées et insupportables, et cela grâce à tout ce qui se publie en leur favour, et voyant le parti que l'Europe en général, et la Russie en particulier, surtout prennent pour eux, bien qu'ils ne le méritent point et ne seront jamais capables de pouvoir répondre à l'autorité générale en ayant une constitution nationale ni même en obtenant des réformes à être exécutées par les Bulgares eux-mêmes. Superflu je trouve d'en énumérer les causes, l'ayant fait déjà à plusieurs reprises, ressortir par mes rapports réitérés à ce sujet.

Je pense cependant qu'au moment où se réunit la Conférence à Constantinople pour discuter les affaires d'Orient et principalement de ce vilayet (Bulgarie) que je doive soumettre très humblement les quelques points indispensables que la Sublime Porte pourrait et devrait admettre pour assurer la tranquillité et le bien-être de ses sujets en général, Chrétiens de ce vilayet, et peut-être aussi dans ses autres Provinces. L'expérience que j'ai acquise par un très long séjour en Orient et surtout en Bulgarie, où j'ai eu le temps et les occasions de connaître les hommes et les choses, me mettent à même d'y émettre une opinion plus ou moins juste, que n'importe qui, et que je résume par les Articles suivants:—

I. Tolérance religieuse. Bien qu'elle existe sur une ronde échelle, cependant il y aurait encore à permettre la pose des cloches, les processions et autres pareilles formalités et usages Chrétiens qui ne sont pas toujours tolérés sous différents prétextes futils.

II. Chrétiens et Musulmans égaux par devant la loi et les Tribunaux ; admission du témoignage des Chrétiens ; leur admission à tous les emplois.

III. Faire des lois en tout et pour tout ; compléter celles existentes en les réformant.

IV. Réorganisation complète des Tribunaux, incluant les Cadis et les Muftis des Tribunaux Civils. Suffrage libre pour la nomination des membres des Medjlich parmi les indigènes Turcs et Chrétiens.

V. Réorganisation complète de la gendarmerie (zaptiés) point très essentiel et important, admission des Chrétiens indigènes dans le corps de la police pour au moins un tiers en nombre. Augmentation de la paiement des chefs parmi les officiers de l'armée et des hommes honnêtes habitants du pays.

VI. Admission des Chrétiens dans l'armée, par conséquent abolition du Bedéli-Asheré, l'impôt d'exemption pour le service militaire.

VII. Réformer l'impot des dîmes, soit sur les produits agricoles que sur celui du bétail, le remplacer par un impôt uniforme et fixé en argent, pour cela prendre une moyenne de ce que chaque village ou bourg a dû payer pendant cinq ou six ans, et répartir cette moyenne entre chaque contribuable, chargeant la commune de chaque village, bourg, ou ville pour l'encaissement de ces impôts, délivrant des reçus pour chaque encaissement, tenant pour cela des registres réguliers. Ces mêmes communes devraient être chargées aussi pour la répartition des biens domiaux pour tout ce qui est propriété foncière et immobilière.

VIII. Langue officielle, gouvernementale, la langue Turque, admettant cependant aussi la langue du pays par devant les Tribunaux pour des requêtes, &c.

IX. Nomination des Gouverneurs aussi que des autres fonctionnaires par la Sublime Porte sans avoir égard s'ils sont Chrétiens ou non, avec obligation qu'ils doivent connaitre la langue Turque et ne pouvant être destitués sans causes et sans fautes. Pour cela établir des lois, règlements et instructions, instituant des caisses pour fonds de réserves et dépensions pour tout employé et fonctionnaire.

X. Les revenus de la province, de tous les impôts répartis en deux parties égales, après déduction faite des dépenses gouvernementales, dont une partie rentrer au Gouvernement central à Constantinople et l'autre moitié à être employée pour les besoins de la province pour écoles, routes, &c.

XI. Etablissement de municipalités dans chaque ville composées de membres Musulmans, Chrétiens, indigènes et étrangers, tous propriétaires d'immeubles. Le Président choisi par les membres.

XII. Désarmement complet des Turcs et Chrétiens ; personne ne pouvoir porter des armes sans un permis légal. Si c'est possible envoi des Circassiens dans les Provinces de l'Asie.

XIII. Etablir la responsabilité pour chaque fonctionnaire, employé et chefs d'Administration et de Tribunaux, chaque branche indépendante du Vali, qui aujourd'hui est tout, assumant tout sur lui, par cela même les affaires traînent et beaucoup d'abus s'y commettent ; un Gouverneur devrait être complètement libre sans s'occuper de la police des Tribunaux, des sentences, des requêtes, &c., et autres détails futils. Aussi présentement au Gouverneur-Général, avec toute la bonne volonté possible et son savoir faire, lui est matériellement impossible de remplir ses fonctions à la satisfaction générale.

XIV. Pour le contrôle de toutes ces réformes ou autres, on pourrait pendant cinq ou six ans avoir des représentants étrangers connaissant le pays et les langues, et cela en dehors des Consuls, car il est très probable que le désaccord régnera parmi eux, lesquels, chacun d'après un intérêt différent de son Gouvernement ou de toute autre influence, ne pourront pas être unis, à la suite de quoi mésintelligence complète pour un contrôle strict et impartial. Voici, en résumé, M. le Ministre, les points généraux essentiels, d'après mon humble avis, que le Gouvernement Ottoman devrait adopter, non seulement dans ses provinces Slaves, mais bien pour tous ses vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe et même l'Asie. Je ne suis si les Consuls Anglais qui viennent d'être appelés à Constantinople par leur Ambassade pour donner leur opinion sur ce qu'il y aurait à faire dans les provinces où ils résident seront de mon avis et d'accord avec mon humble programme résumé ; je pense pourtant que M. Reade, le Consul de Roustchouk, bien qu'il ne soit dans ce vilayet que depuis peu, sera de mon avis, à moins que les instructions ou les vues de son Gouvernement ne soient différentes.

Ce que je crois encore de mieux et admissible pour former surtout aussi un personnel administratif et judiciaire en Turquie, en même temps qu'un excellent contrôle pour l'Europe en tout et pour tout, ce serait, comme la Sublime Porte a admis dans son armée des instructeurs étrangers, d'admettre aussi dans le civil des fonctionnaires et employés étrangers choisis parmi toutes les nationalités et qu'on placerait pendant quelques années comme adjoints et chefs même de chaque branche d'Administration ou Tribunaux. Incontestablement c'est le meilleur moyen et le plus sûr pour un nouvel état de choses en Turquie, et rendrait sans aucun doute service au Gouvernement lui-même, pour ses finances surtout aussi qu'aux gouvernés, et au bout de quelques années la Turquie, en générale, pourrait avoir des fonctionnaires et employés indigènes capables sur tous les rapports et à tous les points de vue, et la tranquillité par tout assurée, tout en écartant des motifs à des aspirations d'indépendence, d'autonomies, &c., et l'Europe n'aurait pas au bout de chaque quelques années à craindre le reveil de la question d'Orient, mise sur le tapis par des troubles et des révolutions souvent factices et exagérées d'ailleurs, car tout prouve aujourd'hui que sans les Monténégrins et les Serbes ces terribles révolutions de l'Herzégovine et de la Bosnie seraient nulles ainsi que la soit-disante de la Bulgarie, laquelle sous les quelques émissaires Panslavistes n'aurait existée que dans les archives des Comités révolutionnaires établis en Russie, Roumanie, et Serbie. Je me plais à le repéter et à le constater comme des faits qui ne devraient pas échapper à la diplomatie et aux Cabinets Européens, mais qui malheureusement, pour bien d'autres motifs ou raisons peut-être, jugent et s'occupent des affaires d'Orient à tous autres points de vue, peut-être aussi est-ce par des renseignements ou informations pas trop justes et exactes du corps Consulaire, car d'après ce que je vois ici dans ce vilayet, et cela doit être un peu par tout de même, presque tous les Consuls des Grandes Puissances, d'ailleurs agents très instruits et capables pour la plus pa.', cependant leurs connaissances des langues du pays ne fréquentent pas les indigènes, et ne connaissant le pays que par la ville seule où ils résident, ne peuvent par conséquent être à même je pense de juger au juste tous les besoins du pays ni connaître les hommes et les choses ; donc leurs rapports ne peuvent contenir que des appréciations seulement et la plus part du temps que ce qui leur est rapporté par des tiers et ne peuvent juger, il me semble que ce qui les entoure dans le milieu qu'ils vivent se basant pour cela et pour ainsi dire de présenter à leurs Gouvernements respectifs toute chose que d'après la politique que les aspirations de leur pays. Ce qui a beaucoup contribué à amener l'état présent des choses en Turquie c'est le Gouvernement lui-même, car si la Sublime Porte maintenait à la stricte exécution les réformes contenues dans l'organisation des vilayets, telles que Midhat Pacha avait commencé à introduire dans ce premier vilayet modèle, comme on le désignait alors à justes titres, et si la Sublime Porte aurait laissé ce digne et capable homme d'Etat comme Vali de cette province pendant au moins dix ans, il n'y a aucun doute que cette province aujourd'hui si misérable en tout et pour tout serait un Gouvernement vraiment modèle, ne laissant pour ainsi dire rien à désirer à un Gouvernement autonome, et les Bulgares n'auraient jamais voulu en aucune façon changer leur état avec celui de leurs voisins, les libres Roumains et les Serbes.

Je conclus à dire que les fâcheuses conséquences présentes de l'Empire Ottoman, dérivent des fautes commises d'un haut lieu du Gouvernement Turc lui-même et que l'Europe mal renseignée juge bien autrement les choses et par cela elle pourrait bien faire les affaires des aspirations de la Russie puisant ainsi à ses propres intérêts tout en faisant plus du mal que de bien aux populations ignorantes Slaves de la Turquie, qui sont loin d'avoir et mériter une constitution libérale, par conséquent encore moins et bien loin de jouir d'une autonomie, car tout leur manque pour cela : caractère, sentiment d'hommes, et instruction.

Je serais très heureux si mes humbles présentes lignes, empruntées de vérité par de longues années d'expérience, pouvaient servir à faire ressortir et connaître là la justice de ce qu'elles contiennent bien que mal rédigées et exprimées, et que par votre influence, M. le Ministre, vous fassiez ressortir tout le bien possible, soit pour le Gouvernement Ottoman, soit en faveur des Chrétiens en général des provinces Turques, soit enfin pour l'Europe entière.

Veuillez, &c.

No. 363.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 18, 5 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December* 18, 1876, 2·30 P.M.

COLONEL HOME wishes following communicated to Sir Lintorn Simmons:—

"Find out, from the engineer of Roumanian Railways, number and nature of rolling stock on these railways, and where it is kept. Telegraph information as soon as possible. Obtain a description of the Seuliani Bridge.

No. 364.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 39. Political.)

Bucharest, November 28, 1876.

My Lord,

THE news has just reached this place that Baron Calice, the Austrian Agent and Consul-General in Roumania, is named second Plenipotentiary at the coming Conference.

A fortnight ago the Baron was summoned to Vienna, but his diffidence did not permit him to anticipate the possibility of his being selected for so important an employment.

Baron Calice is a man of solid intelligence rather than brilliant talent, but his knowledge of this country will make him an acquisition at the deliberations of the Plenipotentiaries.

He has been much in England, speaks English perfectly, and has a thorough appreciation of the English point of view in the questions which will be discussed during the next few weeks.

His relations with me have been of the most confidential and intimate character, and I only fear that his present mission to Constantinople may be the forerunner of his permanent advancement to a more important post than Bucharest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 365.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 40. Political. Confidential.)

Bucharest, December 6, 1876.

My Lord,

HAVING had occasion to see M. Bratiano on the differences between Mr. Crawley and the Roumanian Government, in respect of the works on the Ploiesti-Predeal Railway, the conversation took a political turn; nothing of interest passed, but I was struck by M. Bratiano's last phrase: "Recollect that it was Russia which first called us into existence in 1828, and secured us from the oppression of the Porte."

A few days since M. Jonesco, in a conversation with M. Debains, in answer to that gentleman's inquiries concerning some recent movements of troops, made use of strong language respecting the Porte, saying, "we may be beaten by arms and the force of circumstances; we may be obliged to submit to the passage of, or even occupation by Russian armies, but the Turks are barbarians, and not a Turk shall enter Roumanian territory."

On Sunday I saw Ali Bey, the Governor of Tulcha, who told me that he could get nothing definite out of MM. Bratiano and Jonesco, and that as he, Ali Bey, had all along suspected, the mission of Sir Stephen Lakeman had been a blind to try and extract concessions from the Porte.

I stated to his Excellency that I thought M. Bratiano was not to blame in this matter, that the present Ministry set little store by the demands contained in M. Cogalniceano's note, and that Sir Stephen had acted on his own impulse, and without a shadow of authority on the part of M. Bratiano.

Ali Bey promised to come and see me, and said he should remain some time at Bucharest, but he left suddenly for Constantinople on Monday evening, the 4th instant, and I have reason to think that his departure was unexpected by himself.

Various movements of small bodies of troops have taken place within the last few

days. Artillery was sent from hence on the 4th instant to Giurgevo, and the force at Craiova has moved westwards, all tending towards the line of the Danube.

A sort of panic has existed here for several days that the Porte was on the point of occupying Kalafat and Giurgevo, but I do not see reason to think that such fears have any foundation.

The presence of a considerable flotilla of gun-boats on the Danube makes the occupation of Kalafat less important; but should a Russian force attempt the passage of this country by railway, to enter Servia from Kladova, no doubt the Porte might be tempted to take preventive measures, and rapidly land a force on the left bank of the Danube.

M. Jonesco is as staunch as ever in his affirmations to me that the Roumanian Government will make no arrangement with Russia, but I entertain doubts whether his colleagues are as decided in their tone.

Prince Charles is much alarmed at the general aspect of affairs, and Baron Alvensleben does not think that His Highness has received the smallest assurance from Berlin, and indeed the unconcealed apprehensions on the part of the Prince seem to me to justify such a belief.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 366.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 41. Political. Confidential.)

Bucharest, December 8, 1876.

My Lord,

IT has been whispered to me this afternoon that Ali Bey has asked M. Bratiano officiously whether Prince Charles would put himself at the head of his army and cordially side with the Porte, supported by 50,000 Turks, and that Ali Bey has repaired to Constantinople for more definite instructions.

It is my impression that this Government would hardly enter into such an arrangement, unless the Porte conceded the independence of Roumania and contracted an offensive and defensive alliance.

Under the circumstances, it would be for the Porte to consider whether the independence of Roumania would not be worth the advantage to be derived from placing the seat of hostilities in Moldavia instead of on the Danube; and your Lordship will observe that with opposition on the Moldavian frontier and destruction of the Roumanian railways, the Russian forces would be delayed at least two months in even getting to the Danube. Servia also, as a base, would become almost impossible.

Hostilities taking place so near the Austrian frontier, would also not be without weight with Austria, as the conflict would at the beginning be on an essentially European territory.

The hatred of Russia is so great in all classes in Roumania, and the fear of ultimately suffering a partition and the fate of Poland, is so prevalent, that I venture to think that an independent Roumania would, under such contingences, be a steadfast ally to the Porte; and it is certainly a question whether an honest ally, although perhaps, in a military point of view, a weak one, would not be worth the surrender of the suzerainty over a vassal, who might at any moment pursue an equivocal policy.

In fact, to sum up the case, Roumania will give herself to the highest bidder; now the Emperor Alexander has declared Roumanian independence to be an "absurdity"!

It might be argued that Roumania, having attained independence, would now or at a future date turn against the Porte. Against this must be opposed the dread that is experienced in this country of being crushed between the neighbouring Sclav communities.

In this sense, M. Bratiano and M. Jonesco have often remarked to me that Roumanians, Albanians, Greeks, Latins, and Armenians should band together to prevent being absorbed by the Sclav elements in Eastern Europe, adding that it is of the greatest importance to this country that Bulgaria should not be reorganized on a Russian model. Bulgaria for the Bulgarians, and not a second Servia inspired by Russian Consuls.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 367.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 42. Political.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, December* 8, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Demetre Bratiano, the brother to the President of the Council of Ministers, starts to-morrow on a special mission to the Porte from the Roumanian Government, in connection with the communication made by Ali Bey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 368.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 43. Political.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, December* 9, 1876.

IN explanation of Consul Sanderson's despatch No. 8, Political, of December 7, forwarded to me under flying seal, I beg to state that I am informed by the railway authorities that no extraordinary number of waggons have been sent to Roman; 50 had been asked for by a contractor to forward grain to Galicia.

As the closing of the Danube by ice is now imminent any day the usual winter land export of cereals is commencing, and is going on in larger quantities than usual, so that had 200 waggons been sent to this or that point it would have been nothing extraordinary.

The six days' issue of rations to a small body of troops has no significance, and it may be a mere commissariat arrangement, or indicate a change of station.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 369.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 44. Political. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, December* 9, 1876.

I LOSE no time in informing your Lordship that I have seen M. Jonesco on the subject of my despatch No. 41, Political, of yesterday's date.

M. Jonesco states that Ali Bey was provided with a letter from the Grand Vizier, and had said that he came under direct instructions from the latter, and without the knowledge of Safvet Pasha and the rest of the Divan.

Now to the vassal States the communications are, as your Lordship is aware, invariably made by the Grand Vizier; the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Porte has nothing to say to the vassal States, and the communication was therefore perfectly in order, and I do not believe that Ali Bey stated that his mission is unknown to the Divan. Sir H. Elliot's despatches prove clearly that such is not the case.

M. Jonesco informs me that this Government had replied to Ali Bey that his communications were officious, that they must have something more definite and official, and that through Safvet Pasha, which your Lordship will perceive is a fresh attempt on the part of the Roumanian Government to have regular diplomatic relations with the Porte.

Later I saw M. Bosizio, a young man of high intelligence, in charge of the Austrian Agency, who told me that M. Jonesco had informed him that this Government definitely refuses any arrangement of a military character with the Sublime Porte.

The Minister of War had also informed M. Bosizio that even did the Government desire to go with the Porte they would not be supported by the country. The latter statement is not true. The Ministry have an overwhelming majority in the Chamber, and M. Bratiano could pursue any policy he likes.

The partisans of the late Ministry might of course make political capital in crying out that the "Reds" were selling the country to the Turks, but the fear of partition and Russian annexation is so universal that such a cry would not be dangerous, more especially if there was even a faint vision of independence in the horizon.

It is alleged that the mission of M. Dimetre Bratiano to Constantinople is with reference to the naturalization of Roumania as a question before the Conference, but it is more likely with a view to allay irritation on the part of the Porte, in consequence of this Government declining the advances of the latter.

M. Demetri Bratiano is a man of no weight, and less than moderate capacity. The most natural Special Agent for this Government to have sent to Constantinople would have been Prince John Ghika, who is expected to-day in Bucharest. The latter knows Constantinople thoroughly, and is a *persona grata* at the Porte. Prince John Ghika, however, is at the present moment too Turkophile for the Bratiano policy, and M. Demetri Bratiano has, in my opinion, been hurried off to Pera to avoid the question of the appropriateness of Prince John Ghika for this mission.

M. Jonesco, some days since, spoke to me sneeringly of the friendly disposition of the Porte, saying that proposals of a conciliatory character are inopportune at the present moment.

I yesterday evening put it distinctly to M. Jonesco that this country has everything to gain by going cordially with the Porte, to which he vaguely answered that they preferred their neutrality.

Your Lordship will observe that, as far as can be gathered from M. Jonesco's words, the current in the Ministry is for the moment decidedly anti-Turkish, but M. Jonesco so frequently expresses himself in a different sense to different people that it is only possible to take a general view of the presumed opinion of the Cabinet; and I should add that very often the statements of M. Jonesco do not accord with those of M. Bratiano.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 370.

Consul Sanderson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 7. Political.)
My Lord, *Galatz, December* 2, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to report that I this day despatched a telegram in cypher to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Bucharest informing him that three Russian officers had arrived at Galatz and were making inquiries as to the accommodation at the different hotels, &c.

I beg further to mention that on a recent occasion when the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Cockatrice" wished to send a telegram in cypher to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, he was informed that only such telegrams could be sent in cypher as had the seal of the Consulate attached.

I have, &c,
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 371.

Consul Sanderson to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 8. Political.)
My Lord, *Galatz, December* 7, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to report that the railway authorities have received instructions to forward all spare railway carriages and trucks from Galatz, Barbosch and Ibraila to Roman. The number will amount in all to about 200, and the ostensible reason is to transport as rapidly as possible the grain at that place.

Half the troops at Galatz have been supplied with six days' rations, of which they carry three days' in their knapsacks.

The whole of the Austrian steamers are being moved up the river into Austrian waters, and they are taking with them all the landing-stages, &c., that are Austrian property.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCY SANDERSON.

No. 372.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19.)

Vienna, December 18, 1876, 11·20 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to detention of an Austrian steamer at Belgrade, I am told by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that he has decided not to require Servian Government to salute the Austrian flag, and he will be satisfied with punishment of Servian police officer and its announcement in the official newspapers; he will also publish a despatch communicated to the Servian Government stating that as several occurrences of the kind have taken place, a repetition of them will oblige the Government to take measures to cause its flag to be respected.

No. 373.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19.)

Vienna, December 18, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

COUNT ANDRASSY, whom I have seen this evening, says that he accepts the resolutions of Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople as unobjectionable in principle, though he thinks that some of them may not prove practical.

In stating this he made the reservation that one of the Austrian Ambassador's telegrams had not yet been received. He will authorize him to sign Protocol as soon as he learns from Count Beust that Her Majesty's Government have authorized Lord Salisbury to do so.

No. 374.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19.)

St. Petersburgh, December 18, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

A POLITICAL demonstration took place before the Kazan Church to-day. A crowd of men and women unfurled red banners with inscriptions of liberty.

Some fifty persons were arrested. No disorder occurred.

No. 375.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19, 3 P.M.)

Tiflis, December 19, 1876, 9·40 A.M.

(Telegraphic.)

IT is intended to place 30,000 men between Ozurget and Sukhum Kalé, and 80,000 on [?] frontier; total all arms at present in Caucasus about 80,000. Despatch No. 12 sent.

No. 376.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19.)

Constantinople, December 19, 1876.

(Telegraphic.)

MIDHAT PASHA has replaced Mehemet Rushdi Pasha as Grand Vizier. The latter is named President of the Council of State.

No. 377.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19, 6·15 P.M.)

Constantinople, December 19, 1876, 3 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

COLONEL HOME wishes following communicated to Sir Lintorn Simmons:—

"Russia had 200 waggons with telescope axles at the beginning of this year. This is authentic.

"Polish carriages will run on Roumanian lines, but must pass through Galicia."

No. 378.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

Foreign Office, December 19, 1876, 7·15 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

WHAT is the meaning of Count Andrassy's statement that he would authorize Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople to sign Protocol as soon as he learns that Lord Salisbury is authorized to do so? Among the provisional propositions recorded in the telegram repeated to you on the 9th instant was a stipulation that Porte should engage for all reforms in a Protocol, and this will undoubtedly be essential, and is in accordance with the English basis; but no such Protocol can be signed till after the assent of Porte to reforms finally decided upon.

No. 379.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 525.)

Foreign Office, December 19, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE found it necessary to request your Excellency to-day by telegraph to explain the statement contained in your telegram of yesterday that Count Andrassy had expressed himself as being ready to authorize the Austrian Ambassador to sign the Protocol as soon as he should be informed by Count Beust that Lord Salisbury had been authorized to sign it; as, without explanation, I am unable to understand to what Protocol Count Andrassy refers.

Lord Salisbury, in his telegram from Constantinople of the 9th instant, which was repeated to you, mentioned, among the provisional propositions which he enumerated as having been made by General Ignatiew, the point that the Porte should engage for all reforms in a Protocol. This suggestion had doubtless been made by General Ignatiew in conformity with the third basis of pacification proposed by Her Majesty's Government, and adopted by the Powers, which provides that the Porte should undertake to record in a Protocol, to be signed at Constantinople with the Representatives of the mediating Powers, its intention to grant the reforms required; but it is obvious that no such Protocol can be signed until the reforms shall have finally been decided and accepted by the Porte, which shall have consented to sign a Protocol. For this reason I should wish to have it clearly explained what is the nature of the instructions which Count Andrassy appears to expect will shortly be issued to the Representatives at Constantinople.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 380.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19, at night.)

Constantinople, December 19, 1876, 9·30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

APPOINTMENT of Midhat Pasha at this moment is a very important event. He is beyond question the most energetic and liberal of the Turkish Statesmen, and a man of action, though sometimes too hasty in forming his decisions. He has always advocated equality between Christians and Mussulmans, and wishes to put a control upon the power hitherto wielded by the Grand Vizier as well as the Sultan.

He is opposed to centralization, and in favour of giving the provincial populations much discretion in their local affairs. He has, however, spoken strongly to me against the

grant of special institutions to the Slav provinces, but he is a man who listens to argument, and may, perhaps, be brought to see necessity of it under present circumstances.

He is hated by General Ignatiew, who often spoke of him as a brigand, filibuster, and madman, and as the dislike is reciprocal it may influence his conduct. He is the hope of all the reforming Mahommedans and Christians, but disliked by all the old Mussulmans. He always wished to follow English advice, but I do not know what his feelings towards us are at present.

No. 381.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20.)

(No. 45. Political. Confidential.)

Bucharest, December 11, 1876.

My Lord,

IT would appear that the instructions given to M. Demetri Bratiano comprise a demand from the Porte to formally declare, that war shall not, under any contingencies, be brought on to Roumanian territory, in return for which, the reserves of this army would be dismissed, and the united Principalities would maintain an unarmed neutrality.

That the Porte would be committed to an engagement of this character appears to me extremely unlikely, as such an arrangement makes Wallachia a secure base of operations, and leaves intact the Moldo-Wallachian railway system.

I must also not omit to call your Lordship's attention to an incident which occurred a few days since in the Roumanian Chamber.

M. Blaremberg made an interpellation on Thursday the 7th instant, on the foreign policy of this country, neutrality, neutralization, &c.

I was present at the debate, and the reply of M. Jonesco was couched in terms of most studied deference to the Emperor of Russia and his policy in the east.

The Minister spoke of the Emperor as the illustrious reformer, of the disinterested character of Russian aspirations in the east, of the sacrifices which the Russian nation had made for the cause of Servia, &c.

All this is at distinct variance with M. Jonesco's expressed and individual views; but I believe there is no doubt that it had been conveyed to him, that if he was not prepared, in answer to the interpellation, to speak in the above sense, his place at the Ministry was at an end.

I am also secretly informed that the substance of M. Jonesco's speech had been previously submitted to Baron Stuart.

The halting indecision of M. Bratiano becomes more apparent as the dangerous moment approaches.

This Government is still open to offers on both sides, but their feebleness is so great that I doubt whether they would have the courage even to make a false step.

They will go on to the last with professions to both parties, one day assuring the Porte of their loyal disposition, the next sympathizing with the Oriental Christians in a Russian sense, until they finally fall into the trap which is being prepared for them by Russia, from whom they know they have everything to fear and nothing to expect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 382.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20.)

(No. 46. Political. Confidential.)

Bucharest, December 12, 1876.

My Lord,

M. STURDZA, the Minister of Public Works, and Prince John Ghika, informed me yesterday in the most serious manner that when at Livadia Prince Gortchakow said firmly to M. Bratiano, "if you do not go with us you must be crushed;" and that M. Bratiano replied, "you may crush us, but you will esteem us."

Your Lordship will recollect that M. Jonesco, in a conversation which I reported in my despatch No. 23 dated October 19th, studiously concealed the above expressions of Prince Gortchakow, and distinctly affirmed that the Prince and M. Bratiano had had no conversation of a political character.

I shall take the earliest opportunity of pointing out to M. Jonesco that, in keeping back an incident of such importance, he has deliberately kept Her Majesty's Government in ignorance of a matter which is of the highest interest to your Lordship, and a question of vital existence to this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 383.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20.)

(No. 47. Political.)

Bucharest, December 13, 1876.

My Lord,

AMONG other conjectures respecting what might or might not take place in this country in the event of a passage or occupation by Russian troops, is a project that Prince Charles and his Government would leave his place and repair to Tirgouesti, Krajova, or elsewhere in Little Wallachia.

The above has several influential partisans in the Cabinet, and is much discussed as a possible contingency.

Your Lordship will probably not think it premature of me to request instructions should such a project be put in execution.

In such a moment British subjects and interests would be in special need of protection, and were your Lordship to desire me to follow the Prince and his Government, some arrangements would be necessary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. E. MANSFIELD.

No. 384.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

Vienna, December 20, 1876.

COUNT ANDRASSY referred to the Protocol or the Minutes of the proceedings and resolutions of the Plenipotentiaries at the preliminary Conference; he doubted the expediency of the Plenipotentiaries signing such a document, but telegraphed to Count Benst on the 17th instant that he would authorize its signature by Count Zichy if Lord Salisbury was authorized to sign it. As his Excellency returned here yesterday I have done so likewise.

No. 385.

Mr. Cumberbatch to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

December 20, 1876.

M. RISTITCH resigned last night. It is not certain whether M. Cristitch or M. Marinovitch (will succeed him ?).

Yesterday evening Austrian monitor steaming past Belgrade fortress was fired upon by a sentry; monitor fired back shell, then anchored opposite Belgrade on Save. It is reported that Austrian Consul-General was on board.

No. 386.

Mr. Cumberbatch to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20, 5·40 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)

December 20, 1876, 2 P.M.

AS soon as intelligence of affair at the fortress reached Prince Milan, His Highness sent officer to apologize to the Austrian Consul-General. Commandant of the fortress dismissed.

No. 387.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 21.)

(No. 60. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, December 4, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 1st instant I received the following telegram from his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot:—

"Veuillez faire tous vos efforts pour décider les chefs insurgés à envoyer deux d'entre eux à Belina à l'effet de s'aboucher avec la Commission de Démarcation et établir l'armistice. Vous demanderez à l'avance aux autorités Turques de sauf-conduits pour eux et l'assurance formelle qu'en leur absence les Turcs s'abstiendront de toute hostilité envers les insurgés. Veuillez vous entendre à ce sujet avec vos collègues qui ont des instructions identiques."

The same day I telegraphed to his Excellency in reply as follows:—

"Dès réception du télégramme arrivé aujourd'hui midi, réunion Consulaire et démarche collective auprès du Vali relativement aux sauf-conduits de deux chefs insurgés et assurances de suspension d'hostilités en leur absence. A défaut d'instructions Vali réfère par télégramme à Constantinople."

This morning his Excellency Nasif Pasha has informed myself and colleagues that the Porte, not recognizing the insurgents as belligerents, refuses to grant safe conducts to any of their number, and that this decision has been communicated to the various Embassies at Constantinople.

Having received no ulterior instructions from his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, I have taken no further action in the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 388.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 21.)

(No. 9.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, December 9, 1876.*

SIXTEEN HUNDRED men arrived here on the 5th instant from Russia by the Kasbek.

The 1,800 mentioned in despatch No. 8 as going to Poti are still at Tiflis.

On the 6th instant, 1,200 troops arrived (at?) Poti by steamer, and 900 of these have gone to Alexandropol, thus there will be 1,800 at present at Poti.

Three hundred tons of ammunition arrived (at?) Poti on 4th December; this, together with 5,000 sappers' picks and 500 scaffolding poles, were sent to Alexandropol.

Russian officers at Poti expect war will be declared on the 24th of this month.

A number of gun-carriages lately arrived at Tiflis from Poti; extra hands are at work in the arsenal, and a number of houses in Tiflis have been engaged by the Government as quarters for troops up to the 5th of January, after this these reinforcements will, it is said, be sent to the frontier.

A staff is to be formed at Ozurget, and three more battalions are to be sent there from Tiflis.

The Abkases still continue plundering the country near Soukhum Kale.

Last reports give at Alexandropol 28,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 13 batteries; at Achalzikh, 7,000 infantry, 1,600 cavalry, and 2 batteries; at Akhalkasit, 4,000 infantry, 1,600 cavalry; at Ozurget, 3,400 infantry (chiefly militia), 2,000 cavalry; total on frontier, 40,000 infantry, 11,000 cavalry, and, more or less, 15 batteries. At Tiflis there at 7,000 infantry and 6 batteries; these will soon go to the frontier.

I hear that it is probable that the Russians will not attack Kars, but will march to south, I think, by Ahshker, but I am not sure.

I hear that a part of the Tekke tribes have become Persian subjects, and that the Khan of Khiva has offered to give up his country to Russia, the Russian Government guaranteeing him 6,000 roubles per annum.

Turks should have plenty of scouts on all roads from Russian frontier; also means of telegraphing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. S. RICKETTS.

Note.—Russians appear to have no regular transport train, but depend on villages for carriages.

Reinforcements are arriving almost daily.

No. 389.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 21.)

(No. 592.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December 16, 1876.*

WITH reference to previous correspondence as marked in the margin,* I have now the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of a note which I have received from M. de Giers, transmitting a report in translation from General Kaufmann, in which the Governor-General of Turkestan denies energetically that he has sent any agent or agents to Cabul, and affirms that his relations with the Ameer of Affghanistan have been strictly confined to an exchange of civilities.

General Kaufmann further states that his letters to the Ameer once or twice a-year have always been forwarded from Samarcand through the Ameer of Bokhara, to the Governor of Balkh, by whom they were transmitted to Shere Ali Khan, and that these letters bore no other character but that of mere courtesy.

General Kaufmann protests formally against the reports which were referred to in my note to M. de Giers of the $\frac{20\text{th September}}{\text{12th October}}$ last as being entirely without foundation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 389.

M. de Giers to Lord A. Loftus.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{8}{20}$ Décembre, 1876.*

A LA suite des deux notes de votre Excellence en date du $\frac{7\text{ Septembre}}{\text{19 Octobre}}$ et $\frac{1-6}{8}$ Novembre relativement aux renseignements parvenus au Gouvernement Britannique quant à l'envoi d'un prétendu Agent Russe à Caboul pour conclure un Traité d'Alliance et de Commerce avec l'Emir, j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous informer par une note responsive, en date du 19 Novembre, que j'ai demandé des renseignements à cet égard au Général Kaufmann.

Je me fais un devoir aujourd'hui de joindre ci-près une traduction exacte de cette réponse, qui vient de parvenir au Ministère Impérial.

Votre Excellence voudra bien y remarquer l'étonnement qu'inspirent au Général Kaufmann les renseignements dont le Gouvernement Britannique semble s'être ému, et dont l'exactitude est entièrement récusée par l'Administration du Turkestan.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) GIERS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 389.

The Governor-General of Turkestan to M. de Giers.

(Traduction.) *Le 9 Novembre, 1876.*

VOTRE Excellence a bien voulu me transmettre, par sa lettre du 8 Octobre dernier, traduction d'une note de l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre près la Cour Impériale relativement à un prétendu agent que j'aurais expédié, selon les renseignements du Gouvernement Britannique, à Caboul, pour conclure un Traité d'Alliance offensive et défensive, ainsi qu'un Traité de Commerce.

Je crois de mon devoir d'informer votre Excellence que depuis mon entrée en fonctions de Gouverneur-Général de Turkestan, mes relations avec Shir Ali Khan se sont bornées à des échanges de politesses, et que je n'ai jamais envoyé à Caboul ni agents ni même un seul djiguite.

Mes lettres ont été toujours expédiées, une ou deux fois annuellement, par l'Emir de

* Earl of Derby, Nos. 531, 535, October 21 and 24; Nos. 569, 650, November 7 and 15. Lord A. Loftus Nos. 543, 568, November 17 and 28; Nos. 581 and 585, December 6.

Boukhara, qui les faisait parvenir à Caboul, ou par un djiguilte de Samarkand à l'adresse du Chef de Balkh, qui les envoyait à l'Emir Afghan.

Ces communications ne portaient jamais d'autre caractère que celui de pure courtoisie, comme votre Excellence peut s'en persuader par les copies déposées au Département Asiatique.

Je m'empresse de constater à cette occasion que ma manière d'agir envers les Khanats, limitrophes ou autres, n'a jamais été un mystère pour le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, et qu'elle a constamment répondu aux ordres suprêmes dont Sa Majesté l'Empereur a daigné me munir lors de ma nomination à mon poste.

Mes convictions personnelles n'admettent la nécessité d'aucune ruse ni d'aucune subterfuge pour l'expédition satisfaisante des affaires, et j'ose espérer qu'une longue série d'années a convaincu le Ministère Impérial de l'absence de toute intrigue politique dans mes rapports avec les Khanats Asiatiques, intrigues contraires à mon caractère personnel, aussi opposé au mensonge dans la vie politique que dans la vie privée.

Son Altesse le Chancelier de l'Empire a entièrement approuvé cette manière d'envisager nos affaires de l'Asie Centrale.

En conséquence, j'ai l'honneur de prier votre Excellence de vouloir bien formellement protester contre les assertions, dénuées de toute exactitude, consignées dans la note de l'Ambassadeur de Grande Bretagne. Je récuse tout caractère d'authenticité de la source à laquelle ces renseignements tout-à-fait erronés ont pu avoir été puisés.

Veuillez, &c.

No. 390.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 833.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1876.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 1317 of the 29th ultimo, reporting your conversation with General Ignatiew respecting a statement in the English newspapers of a proposed occupation of Constantinople, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve your language on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 391.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 834.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1876.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 1335 of the 6th ultimo, inclosing Mr. Vice-Consul Calvert's report of the 30th of November last, and I have to express the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have heard of the improvement that has taken place in the condition of the lately-ravaged districts in the neighbourhood of Philippopoli.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 392.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 835.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the communication which your Excellency made to the Sultan respecting the unsatisfactory proceedings of the Commission at Philippopoli, as reported in your despatch No. 1320 of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 393.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 836. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1876.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which your Excellency held in conversation with the Sultan respecting the ensuing Conference, and the present position of affairs as reported in your despatch No. 1321 of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 394.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 838.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1876.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to shew to Lord Salisbury the inclosed copy of the address from the Greek community of Philippopoli, which was forwarded to me in your No. 1344 of the 7th instant, protesting against any part of the country to the south of the Balkans being included in a scheme of autonomy.

Your Excellency will likewise inform the Memorialists that their Memorial has reached Her Majesty's Government, and will receive the attention of Her Majesty's Representatives at the Conference.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 395.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 631.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1876.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and spoke to me of the reception which was likely to be given by the Turkish Government to the proposals of the Powers, which he seemed to think was not likely to be favourable.

Count Schouvaloff expressed his earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government would not give to that of the Porte any encouragement to hope that, in the event of their rejecting these proposals, Turkey would receive support from England, or be protected from the possible consequences of such refusal.

I told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had already held language to this effect on previous occasions, and that they would undoubtedly be prepared to do so again.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 396.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 1046.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 21, 1876.

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and spoke to me of the progress of the negotiations at Constantinople, and of the turn that events would probably take.

He said that there was reason to apprehend that the Turkish Government would object to the proposals which would be placed before them in Conference by the Representatives of the other Powers; that in such a case much would depend on the attitude assumed by England; and that the Due Decazes was anxious to learn what course Her Majesty's Government were prepared to pursue in case of the refusal of the Porte to accede to the demands of the Powers.

I told the Marquis d'Harcourt in reply, that we should undoubtedly support to the

utmost of our power the proposals which had been agreed upon by the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople, and to which Her Majesty's Government had in principle given their assent. As regards, however, the exact extent to which we were prepared to exert pressure upon Turkey in case of her refusal to accept those proposals, I was not in a position to give him a definite reply.

For this I said there were two reasons.

In the first place, in considering the eventuality in question, it must be borne in mind that there were different kinds of refusal. A proposal or scheme might be rejected positively and in its entirety, or objections might only be raised to certain parts of it, and these might be made in such a manner as to invite further discussion. The course to be pursued must be guided by the nature of the case.

In the second place, I could only speak to him at present in my individual capacity, and not as conveying the decision of the Government as a whole. The Cabinet would meet to-morrow, and it was possible that I might afterwards be able to speak more decidedly. I thought, however, I could say this much, as my personal view of the matter, that, on the one hand, Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared themselves to employ measures of active coercion in order to extort the consent of Turkey to the proposals which had been drawn up at Constantinople; while, on the other hand, they would not hold out to the Porte any hope of assistance or protection in the event of war ensuing on the refusal to entertain these proposals.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 397.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 591. Confidential.)
Foreign Office, December 21, 1876.

Sir,

COUNT BEUST stated to me on the 18th instant that he was instructed to inform me, in the most private and confidential manner, that the Austro-Hungarian Government entertained objections in principle to the idea of sending a corps of foreign gendarmerie into the Turkish provinces; but that their objection would be less if the corps should be composed of Belgian troops, between whom and the natives there would be no particularly sympathetic feeling; they were therefore, said his Excellency, prepared to advise the Porte to accede to such a proposition if England should do the same.

His Excellency added that he was instructed to state, in the same private and confidential manner, the views of his Government with respect to General Ignatiew's proposal that a Protocol should be signed at the close of the preliminary Conference which would be binding on all the Guaranteeing Powers. His Government entertained, he said, doubts as to its being advisable to authorize the Representatives to sign such a Protocol without its having been previously submitted to the Governments themselves, besides which they doubted whether all the measures that had been agreed upon at the preliminary Conference would be found to work in practice; they were, however, prepared on this point also to be guided by the views of the British Government, and to acquiesce in the signature of such a Protocol if the latter should see no objection to being bound in like manner by signing the same.

I saw Count Beust on the following day, and I then informed him that the Government had accepted in principle, but subject to modifications of detail, the plan drawn up at the preliminary Conferences, including the proposal that the Commission of Supervision should be supported by an escort not exceeding 6,000 men, to be drawn from some minor State, such as Belgium.

As regards the question of the signature of a Protocol, as mentioned by his Excellency, I made no reply, not having heard from Lord Salisbury that any such proposal had been brought forward.

Your Excellency's telegram of to-day, in connection with Count Beust's remarks, seems to clear up the difficulty, the explanation of which I requested in my despatch No. 525 of the 19th instant, and which appears to have arisen from Count Andrassy's applying the term "Protocol" to the Minutes of Proceedings kept by the Secretary in attendance on the preliminary Conference. I have since learned from Lord Salisbury by telegraph that no proposal has yet been made for the signature of any Protocol except

the one which, according to the bases suggested by Her Majesty's Government, was to be eventually signed by the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 398.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December* 21, 1876, 9·40 P.M.

A NEW cause of complaint against Servia from the fort at Belgrade having fired on an Austrian monitor has been arranged.

The apology offered has been accepted, on condition that the suspension which was ordered of the Commandant shall be confirmed, that the men who fired the shots and have been arrested shall be punished, and Austrian flag shall receive a royal salute.

The resignation of Servian Ministry offered to facilitate an arrangement has been accepted by the Prince.

No. 399.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 22.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December* 21, 1876, 10 P.M.

THERE appears from your telegram of to-day to be a misunderstanding as to the name of Minute kept by the French Secretary of proceedings of Conference. Count Andrassy called it a Protocol, and I was told to-day at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that, as Count Beust has been unable to state whether Lord Salisbury has been authorized to sign document in question, whatever it may be called, Count Zichy has been instructed to be guided by his Lordship's opinion with respect to its signature.

No. 400.

Mr. Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 22, 1·6 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Tiflis, December* 22, 1876, 11·10 A.M.

TWENTIETH of last month 2,000 reserve (s?) arrived; remainder, 18,000, will be here by end of month; Russian army of frontier will be then, all arms, 100,000. All passes to (Dardanelles?) should be fortified by Turks.

No. 401.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 23.)

(Separate.)
My Lord, *Odessa, December* 10, 1876.

HAVING noticed in the "Morning Post" of the 4th instant, a statement that approach to the batteries at Odessa had been lately refused, owing to a person, supposed to have been the British Consul or an English correspondent, having been seen in the disguise of a priest inspecting and taking drawings of them, I have the honour to state that there is no truth in the paragraph as regards myself, nor do I fully believe as regards anyone else.

Nobody here has heard of the occurrence.

Whilst giving this denial to the statement in question, I do not at all deny that I have seen the batteries. Indeed I have had the honour of sending to your Lordship what I believe to be an accurate plan of them, but in making the observations I have ever been most careful to avoid calling attention to my proceedings.

I would state that the batteries are all adjoining the public walks or on the quays close to the shipping, where my duties occasionally call me, and that they are seen with the greatest facility by any one passing.

It also takes several days to bring any of the larger guns from the railway station to the batteries, so that there are many opportunities of seeing to which battery they are going.

Having, also, the measurement of one, it is easy to distinguish to which class any others belong.

Most are, moreover, Krupp's guns, whose sizes are well known.

The two batteries at the middle and near the end of the South Mole are easily visible, with their guns, from my windows.

As to the sentries, they have been placed since the powder was stored there.

I venture to trouble your Lordship with these details, as, though I was anxious to give your Lordship all information concerning these batteries, I was equally anxious and careful not to be seen examining them, and I feel sure I gave no grounds for the statement, and that the same suspicion against English prompted it which has shown itself in several other statements, amongst others, that English war vessels have been seen examining the batteries, and taking soundings along the coast, and that English officers have been arrested taking observations of the torpedoes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 402.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 23.)

(No. 290.)

Athens, December 14, 1876.

My Lord,

I INFORMED your Lordship, in a postcript to my despatch No. 288 of the 9th instant, that M. Deligeorges' Cabinet was defeated in the Chamber on that day by eighty-five votes to fifty-seven, although it had only been formed on the preceding day, and had had no opportunity of doing more than to give a general outline of the policy which it proposed to pursue.

The inclosed extract from the "Messager d'Athènes" contains a short account of the discussion which resulted in the above vote.

After accepting the resignation of M. Deligeorges and his colleagues, the King again sent for M. Coumoundouros, and requested him to form a Cabinet.

The latter gentlemen held a consultation with his political friends on Monday, the 11th instant, at which they appear to have expressed their readiness to support M. Zaïmis, in the event of the King being willing to confide to him the formation of a Cabinet.

Upon M. Coumoundouros going to the palace to make the King acquainted with this decision, His Majesty is reported to have declined, on constitutional grounds, to send for M. Zaïmis, unless M. Coumoundouros consented to abdicate his position as the leader of his party in M. Zaïmis' favour, and to have requested M. Coumoundouros to give a definitive answer as to whether he would undertake to form a Cabinet himself or not, his party being larger than any other in the Chamber.

M. Coumoundouros promised to return to the palace with his answer in the evening.

In the interval he communicated the King's decision to M. Zaïmis, and asked him to co-operate with him in the formation of a new Government, but was met by an absolute refusal.

M. Coumoundouros then consulted his friends as to whether he should form a Cabinet from his own party exclusively or decline the task.

The general opinion amongst them being in favour of an attempt to form a coalition Government, in which all the party leaders in the Chamber should take part, M. Coumoundouros addressed letters to Messrs. Deligeorges, Zaïmis, and Tricoupi, stating that he considered it desirable that such a Government should be formed, and that he would be ready to take part in it as one of its members, under the presidency of whomsoever they might select for the purpose.

As was to be expected, this proposal did not meet with sufficient acceptance, although I am not as yet acquainted with the exact purport of the answers which were made to it by the respective party leaders.

Upon learning from M. Coumoundouros the step which he had taken, His Majesty told him that he was free to act as he thought best for the formation of a proper Government.

Finding himself, on Tuesday, obliged to fall back upon the exclusive co-operation of his own party, M. Coumoundouros formed a Government consisting of all his former colleagues, with the exception of M. Zaïmis' two friends, Messrs. Papayaphiropoulos and Argherinos. The latter is replaced in the Marine Department by M. G. Bouboulis, who held the same office in 1871, whilst M. Coumoundouros retains provisionally for himself the Ministry of Justice as well as that of the Interior.

The new Ministers took the oaths yesterday, and they are to present themselves to the Chamber to-day, when detailed explanations will no doubt be given respecting the above occurrences.

I shall, perhaps, be able to report to your Lordship in a postcript, before the post starts this afternoon, whether the present Government can calculate upon fairer play and upon a longer existence than the one by which it was immediately preceded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

P.S.—I hear that at the sitting this afternoon, the Government proposed that the Chamber should go into Committee upon the Loan Bill and upon the Army Organisation Bill, and that the motion was carried by a majority of 101 to 57.

It was upon an article of the Loan Bill that M. Coumoundouros' former Government had been defeated, as reported to your Lordship in my despatches Nos. 278 and 286 of the 2nd and 7th instant.

W. S.

Inclosure in No. 402.

Extract from the "Messager d'Athènes" of December 9, 1876.

DERNIÈRES NOUVELLES.—Le nouveau Cabinet a subi un échec Parlementaire à la suite duquel il donnera sa démission dans la journée.

M. Déligeorges a exposé en peu de mots le programme du Gouvernement. Il reconnaît que la situation est aussi difficile pour le Cabinet que pour la Chambre. Il proposera l'augmentation de l'armée et des réductions considérables dans le Budget; il n'aura recours à l'impôt qu'à la dernière extrémité.

M. Efthymiopoulo fait la proposition de passer à l'ordre du jour après avoir constaté que le Ministère n'a pas la majorité.

M. Déligeorges ne repousse pas cette proposition, mais il la croit indigne de la Chambre et surtout des circonstances actuelles. Il n'y a pas, dans notre histoire Parlementaire, d'exemple d'avoir posé la question de confiance le jour même de la formation du Cabinet. Il ne daignera donc pas combattre une proposition avilissante pour la Chambre et consacrant, si elle était votée, un funeste précédent. Il demande que l'on procède au vote sans le moindre retard.

M. Petzalis trouve la proposition correcte au point de vue Parlementaire. M. Ricaki avait soutenu, avant lui, qu'elle était contraire aux usages Parlementaires et qu'il était injuste de condamner un Ministère avant d'avoir discuté son programme.

M. Tricoupi dit que la démission du Cabinet Coumoundouros et la formation du Ministère Déligeorges sont correctes au point de vue Parlementaire. Mais si l'on a condamné un Ministère qui avait de nombreux précédents, il serait injuste d'en condamner un dont on ne connaît pas encore les actes. Il repousse donc la proposition, mais sans contester à la Chambre le droit de l'approuver ou de la repousser. Il renouvelle ses déclarations sur les Ministères de coalitions et les partis personnels.

M. Maurocordato votera la proposition Efthymiopoulo. Il ne s'agit pas, comme l'a avancé M. Tricoupi, d'examiner si la couronne a fait un bon ou un mauvais usage de ses prérogatives; c'était à M. Déligeorges à examiner s'il avait la confiance du Parlement. Nous n'avons pas de temps à perdre; il faut donc que la question soit éclaircie sans le moindre retard, car ce serait une grande déception et un préjudice considérable si l'on mettait 15 ou 20 jours à s'apercevoir que le Ministère n'a pas la majorité. Il répète que l'union des partis peut, à l'heure qu'il est, être avantageuse aux intérêts du pays.

M. Coumoundouros attaque un peu vivement M. Tricoupi, qui croit que les partis doivent se mettre sous son joug, gouverner selon ses principes. Il estime M. Déligeorges, mais leurs principes sont trop opposés pour qu'il lui soit possible de lui donner son concours. Il abonde dans le sens de M. Maurocordato. M. Lombardos parle dans le sens de M. Tricoupi.

M. Théodore Delyanni déclare que ce Ministère, aussi insuffisant que celui qui l'a précédé, ne répond pas aux nécessités de la situation. Il voudrait un Ministère composé de tous les partis. Mais les circonstances sont graves; il ne peut pas voir se renouveler les crises qu'il a prévues. Aussi votera-t-il pour le Ministère.

La proposition Efthymiopoulo mise aux voix est adopté par 85 voix contre 57.

No. 403.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 489.)

My Lord, *Rome, December* 19, 1876.

THE first estimates of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for 1877 were yesterday brought before the Chamber of Deputies, and, in consequence of the continued indisposition of Signor Melegari, the President of the Council, Minister of Finance, Signor Depretis, was present to reply to any questions which might be addressed to the Head of the Foreign Department on this occasion.

The Deputy Micoli, one of the advanced members of the Left, did, indeed, attempt to get up a discussion on the Eastern question. He advocated a policy in conformity with that of Russia; expressed the hope that the Italian Government would bear in mind and act up to the principles on which the unity of Italy had been formed, viz., the principle of nationalities; he deplored the policy of England, which might have been adapted to twenty-two years ago; he thought the Italian Government should act as mediator between England and Russia, though supporting the policy of the latter; and he concluded by calling for papers and soliciting some declaration from the President of the Council which might reassure the public opinion of the country.

After questions from two other Deputies, one of whom, Signor Mareora, attempted to give a political significance to the arrest of three Italian subjects in the Austrian Tyrol, Signor Depretis, President of the Council, got up to reply, and said that the Government remained faithful to the programme set forth last Session in the Senate by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, of which the Chamber had just been reminded by Signor Micoli. The Italian Government had not abandoned the principles to which Italy owed her political life. They were making every effort for the preservation of peace; they did not deny that the populations of the East had a right to better treatment; they were employing their legitimate influence in order to conciliate the different parties to the present negotiations. The office of conciliation required, however, to be exercised with the greatest discretion and reserve. The day would come when the Government would be happy to give to the Chamber the most ample information as well as papers concerning their policy in regard to the East, but, pending the sittings of the Conference, they must decline all discussion and the communication of any documents.

Replying to the question respecting the arrest of the three Italian subjects in the Austrian Tyrol, Signor Depretis observed that it was a judicial and not a political question; that the Government had full confidence in the impartiality with which the trial would be conducted, but of course if anything illegal should occur, the Italian Government would make proper representations.

After a further short conversation, the estimates of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, amounting to 6,501,161 lire, was approved by 226 votes to 12.

The first estimates for 1877 of most of the other Ministries have now been voted, and the Chamber will probably adjourn for the Christmas recess on Thursday or Friday next.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 404.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 490.)

My Lord, *Rome, December* 19, 1876.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 12th instant, stating that the Italian Government would think it better to employ a Roumanian, instead of a Swiss or Belgian, corps under the orders of the Commission of Execution in the insurgent provinces, I have the honour to state that this information was volunteered to me by Count Tornielli, whom I

saw in the absence of Signor Melegari, with the request that I would telegraph it to your Lordship.

I have, of course, abstained, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 13th instant, from mentioning to Count Tornielli that there had been a question in the interview between the Marquis of Salisbury and General Ignatiew, as reported in his Lordship's telegram of the 8th instant, of employing Italian troops for the above-mentioned purpose. In fact, beyond listening with interest to the information which Count Tornielli has been good enough to impart to me from time to time respecting the progress of affairs in the Conference, I have had no communication with him whatever on Eastern affairs.

I am sorry to say that Signor Melegari still continues unable to attend to business, and it is not certain when his Excellency may be able to resume the duties of his office. His doctor, I am told, thinks absolute repose necessary for him at present, but he is very unwilling to take it, and persists, I believe, in coming from his private apartment in the Ministry to his office-room, and having the most important papers brought to him.

I asked Count Tornielli to-day if there was any question of anyone else taking, either temporarily or otherwise, the direction of the Foreign Department, to which he replied that he had not as yet heard of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 405.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 880.)

My Lord, *Vienna, December* 19, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, to your Lordship, the inclosed despatch, which has been addressed to me by Major Gonne, Military Attaché to this Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 405.

Major Gonne to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Begelitza, December* 14, 1876.

THE line of demarcation has been completed just twenty days before the expiration of an armistice between Servia and the Porte. I have the honour to inclose a trace of the neutral zone in the Novi-Bazaar district, whilst the River Drina and the political frontier divide the armies in the confines of Bosnia, except in the immediate vicinity of Zvornik, where the Servians hold a semi-circle of earth-works on Turkish territory, around the district known as "Klein Zvornik," and just out of range of the Zvornik guns; within this line, and as a kind of "tête de pont," the Turks are entrenched on the right bank of the Drina.

Doubtless, the armistice will be prolonged, as the Servians are in no condition to resist an invasion, and the Russian volunteer contingent formed into a separate brigade does not number more than 1,500 men. At no moment has the number of Russians passed 3,500, and of these one-seventh part have fallen in action.

Servia can only be saved by peace, or further aid from Russia. I doubt whether more than 25,000 Servians will answer the call to arms.* Meantime, the Turks have reduced their strength in order to protect the Danube in Bulgaria.

I take the time necessary to transport say a Russian division from their point of concentration at Kishnew to the Danube in Servia, viâ Roumania,† as follows:—

The distance is 100 German miles. A train travels 3 miles per hour; 12 trains in 4 days of 24 hours could place 12 battalions, 6 batteries, and 4 squadrons at Turn Severin. The question of a bridge depends on the opposition offered by the Turkish gun-boats, but after crossing the river, five days' march is required to reach Zaitschar, where there is a Turkish entrenched position, and ten days to reach Cupria, where the Servians have thrown up a line of earth-works, two miles on the Paracu side of the high road to Deligrad.

* The Militia does not respond to the call to arms. In Belgrade, out of a company of 120, 14 presented themselves.

† That Roumania grants permission and aids Russia is undoubted.

On the Bosnian frontier and the Novi-Bazar district the Servians are less demoralized and could hold their own.

From two members of the Commission,* who are Military Attachés at Constantinople, I have obtained the Turkish "Battle Order" up to present date:

STRENGTH.

Redif Battalions—
150 Battalions, officered by 1 Major, 2 Staff, 3 Captains.
59 " " 1 Major, 3 Captains.
43 " " 1 Major.

252

Nizam—†
181 Battalions fully officered.

433 × 600 men = 259,800 men, or total strength Turks (Infantry).
5,400 men, " Egyptians (Infantry).
20,000 Zaptiés (Police).
147 Squadrons × 80 = 11,760 men, Turks (Cavalry).
114 Batteries of 6 guns, Field Artillery, Turks, about 11,000 men.‡
4 " 6 guns, " Egyptians.

PRESENT POSITION OF TROOPS.

Zaitschar (Servia)		16,000
Morava Valley (Servia)		35,000
Novi Bazar		8,000
Bosnia		11,000
Herzegovina		20,000
Albania		16,000
Cosehumlia and Montenegro		11,000
Constantinople		7,000
Kars, Erzeroum, and Batoum		32,000
Syria		12,000
Mesopotamia		12,000
Arabia		18,000
Candia		9,000
Epirus and Thessaly		10,000
	219,000	
Infantry		
Total strength, Turkish Infantry	259,800	
" Egyptian Infantry	5,400	
	265,200	
	46,200	

The difference, or present strength of Infantry available for the defence of the Danube.

Notice is only taken of the good troops, but in these figures the Tchtiat or reserve is used up. On paper there are 300,000 of Mustahfiz or landsturm, also there are, say, between 30,000 and 40,000 irregulars, but these are of no service during a battle. The Attachés assure me that the Turks will have difficulty in bringing 80,000 men§ in line on the Danube. On the other hand, very slight reduction need be made for garisons, as the inhabitants, for the most part, man their fortifications.

My own view of the probable Russian plan of campaign in the event of Austria remaining neutral is, that during the winter months, a force of about 100,000 men will cross the Danube into Bulgaria, but will not move far from their supplies on the river.‖ If the Danube forts are garrisoned by any strength of troops it will be worth while to attack them. If the Turks are for the most part in and about Schumla, it will suffice to mask them, then the real attack will be made, with Servia as a base, to turn the Balkans viâ Sofia. The great trouble will be to find transport: "arabas"¶ may be got together for one army, but not for the advance on a double line of operations.

The present state of Bosnia seems satisfactory. The Turks refused to give a "sauf conduit" to insurgent troops, so this Commission has not interfered, and I look upon this as fortunate, as everywhere things are quiet.

* French and Russian.
† The strength of Nizam is less than 400 per battalion; the strength of Redif over 600. I take a mean of 600.
‡ There are 28 batteries of Garrison Artillery, about 10,000 men, fixtures.
§ To obtain the 80,000 the Cavalry is taken into account.
‖ It must not be supposed that the Russian mobilization has been a success. My information has been to the effect that things have gone badly, and that Russia is in no condition to take the field during winter.
¶ Carts.

The Commission has asked for permission to separate and return to civilisation. The reply of the Ambassadors is expected, but the telegraph is reported broken.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. GONNE, *Military Attaché, Major, 17th Lancers.*

No. 406.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 23, 1876, noon.*

I HAVE been unable to attend the three last preliminary meetings, and there is little probability of my being able to attend the Conference with any regularity.

As, if I remained at Constantinople, my absence from them would be sure to be taken here as the result of a disagreement with Lord Salisbury, and would encourage the Turks to resist, I have determined, in the public interest as well as in justice to myself, to leave in the first week of January.

I have taken care, in making my determination known, to guard against this misinterpretation.

I am most grateful for the kind expressions in your telegram, but hope you will not ask me to sacrifice myself beyond my strength.

You will believe me when I say how painful it is to me to be obliged to leave at such a moment as this, but it cannot be avoided.

No. 407.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, December 23, 1876, 5·30 P.M.*

MR. STUART reported from Athens on the 4th instant that the Russian squadron was going to the Baltic with orders to put into a German port if all the Russian ports are closed by ice.

No. 408.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 23, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, December 23, 1876, 6·30 P.M.*

THE Constitution has been read and proclaimed. It establishes a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. Ministers are declared responsible, and the press free. All subjects of the Sultan, without distinction of creed or race, to be styled Ottomans, a designation hitherto taken by the Mussulmans alone, and all Ottomans are declared equal before the law, and to have the same rights and duties, but their admission to public employment is dependent on their knowledge of Turkish, the official language of the State. Personal liberty and domicile are declared inviolable, and torture in every shape is absolutely prohibited. The number of Deputies is fixed at one for every 50,000 male population; the election being by ballot, according to a law to be prepared. Judges to be irremovable and the Courts open. No tax to be levied except in virtue of a law, the Assembly voting each Article of the Budget; and no expenditure to be made beyond the Budget, which is voted for one year, and a "Cour des Comptes" will examine the annual expenditure. The Provinces to be administered on the basis of decentralisation, and a law will regulate on a large basis the elections for the Councils of the Provinces, Districts, and Cantons. Municipal affairs to be conducted by elective Municipal Councils.

No. 409.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1347.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 10, 1876.

A NEWLY appointed Bulgarian Roman Catholic Bishop has received a Berat from the Porte recognizing his authority over the Bulgarians of that religion, and will proceed at once to Adrianople.

Previous to the Bulgarian schism the discontent prevailing against the Greek Patriarchate having induced some thousand Bulgarians to join the Roman Catholic Church, a Bishop was appointed to superintend them, and a very large number of the people were expected to follow the example of their countrymen.

The movement was warmly supported by the French Government, but the Russian Government, in support of the Orthodox Church and of the Patriarchate, resorted to a step which for audacity surpassed what would have been thought possible in these days.

The Bishop was by some stratagem induced to go on board the Russian stationnaire at Buyukdéré, from whence he was sent to Odessa and afterwards to Kiew, where he has been retained ever since.

Such at least is the account of the occurrence given to me by Monseigneur Hassoun, the spiritual representative of the Papal See at Constantinople, who adds that he had taken measures to ascertain whether the Bishop had returned to the Greek faith, but had found that he adhered firmly to the Roman Catholic Church.

The story is an old one, having occurred in 1860 or 1861, but it shows how little harmony is likely to prevail among the Representatives of the Powers if invested with the right of interference in the administration of the Provinces.

Monseigneur Hassoun has expressed the earnest hope that the authority of the Porte may not be so much impaired as to give additional influence to the denominations able to count upon foreign support, which are far less tolerant than the Turkish Government to any whom they regard as their rivals.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 410.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1348.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 10, 1876.

THE "Courier d'Orient," a paper known to be inspired by the Russian Embassy, has published the letter, of which the inclosed is an extract, showing the limit of the Bulgaria of which the creation is advocated.

This delimitation, which, probably, represents the most extreme Bulgarian pretensions, would reach on the west to within about sixty miles of the Adriatic, and including, on the south, Salonica and the coast of the Ægean, it would pass to the Black Sea by a line which comes within about fifty miles of Constantinople.

When the arrangements were being made for the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate about six years ago, the Porte considered it a point of the utmost importance, while conceding to the Bulgarians what they desired with respect to their Church Government, to avoid the creation of a geographical Bulgaria, and the feeling of the Imperial Government on the subject is not likely to have undergone any modification.

I have had occasion to report to your Lordship that the Russian Emissaries had, for some time previous to the late insurrection, been encouraging the Bulgarians by the hope of their province being erected into an autonomic Tributary State, and the creation of a large geographical Bulgaria would be regarded as the first step towards that result.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 410.

Extract from "Le Courrier d'Orient" of December 9, 1876.

QU'EST-CE QUE LA BULGARIE?—Au moment où la Conférence va s'occuper de la Bulgarie, l'article suivant, qui nous est arrivé de Macédoine, vient fort à propos:—

"Dès le commencement de la guerre Serbo-Turque, les journaux tant de la capitale que de l'Europe ont daigné plus d'une fois parler de la Bulgarie; mais chaque fois, soit par prévention, soit par ignorance, ils ont donné des renseignements faux ou incomplets concernant les limites de ce malheureux pays. Animé du désir de préserver l'opinion publique, quant à l'avenir, de tout malentendu sur ce point, j'essaierai de tracer avec la plus grande précision possible les limites de la véritable Bulgarie. De même que par le nom de France on désigne le pays dont les habitants sont tous ou pour la plupart des Français, de même on devrait donner le nom de Bulgarie à tout le pays dont les habitants sont tous ou pour la plupart des Bulgares. Me fondant sur ce principe, je tâcherai de déterminer de la manière la plus impartiale et la plus pratique, avec des arguments irréfutables, quelle est la partie de la péninsule des Balkans ou, ce qui est le même chose, de la Turquie d'Europe, qui a été autrefois habitée et l'est encore aujourd'hui par des Bulgares, et qui, par conséquent, doit recevoir à juste titre, le nom de Bulgarie. C'est cette partie dont les limites les plus exactes et les plus naturelles sont: au nord, le Danube, depuis ses embouchures dans la Mer Noire, jusqu'au delà de Widdin; au nord-ouest, ses limites sont déterminées par une ligne qui, partant du confluent du Timok et du Danube, suit les confins de la Serbie jusqu'à Nich; à l'ouest, une ligne qui, partant de Nich, embrasse le versant ouest de la Morava Bulgare, vient se confondre avec le Drin, qui sort du lac d'Ochrida, et se prolonge jusqu'aux sources de la Bielitza, petite rivière qui se jette dans la Bistritza; au sud, la Bistritza est une limite naturelle; puis, excluant la presqu'île Chalcidique on peut considérer l'Archipel comme la continuation de la limite sud de la Bulgarie de Salonique à Enos; au sud-est, la limite du pays ne peut être que plus ou moins arbitraire, mais on ne serait pas dans le faux si on la déterminait par une ligne qui, allant d'Enos, sur l'Archipel, à St. Stephano, petit port sur la Mer Noire, suivrait d'abord le cours de la Maritza, puis celui d'Erghéni et passe par Loulé-Bourgas, Bounar-Hissar, Vélika, Pirgopolé, Matzourn et Blatza; à l'est, la Mer Noire forme la limite naturelle de la Bulgarie.

"Tout le pays compris entre ces limites doit porter le nom de Bulgarie, les Bulgares y constituant la majorité des habitants. A part les documents historiques qui lui revendiquent ce nom, les dénominations des villages, des villes, des fleuves, des rivières, des montagnes, des plateaux l'attestent à chaque pas. Du nord au sud, de l'est à l'ouest, c'est toujours le Bulgare qu'on retrouve dans ce pays dont nous avons essayé de déterminer les limites. C'est partout la même nation, avec la même langue, les mêmes mœurs, les mêmes penchants, la nation résultant du mélange des Slaves et des Bulgares. Les Bulgares, arrivant des bords du Volga, ne pouvaient pas avoir un autre sort, d'autant plus qu'ils étaient de la même race et en nombre beaucoup inférieur aux Slaves qui occupaient depuis longtemps une grande partie de la péninsule des Balkans, et surtout la Mœsie, la Macédoine et la plus grande partie de la Thrace. Dès le milieu du sixième siècle, époque de l'invasion des Bulgares, les Slaves échangent leur nom contre celui des conquérants, et ce même nom est donné à leur langue, qu'on qualifie aujourd'hui quelquefois de langue Slave, mais le plus souvent de celui de langue ancienne Bulgare ('staro-bulgarski insik').

"Cette langue était destinée à devenir la langue-mère de tous les dialectes Slaves, ayant pris de bonne heure une forme grammaticale précise à la suite des travaux des apôtres Bulgares de Salonique, Cyrille, et Méthode, qui inventèrent un alphabet et traduisirent en cette langue l'Ecriture Sainte. Leur œuvre fut reprise et continuée avec non moins de ferveur par leurs élèves, et c'est ainsi que se forma une riche littérature Bulgare, qui devait être et est encore aujourd'hui comme la base de toutes les littératures Slaves. Aujourd'hui encore c'est le même alphabet inventé par Cyrille et Méthode, qui est en usage chez la plupart des peuples Slaves, et c'est en ancien Bulgare qu'est exécutée la liturgie dans les églises de tous les Slaves du rite Grec.

"La Bulgarie ainsi déterminée peut être divisée en trois parties: la Bulgarie septentrionale (la moyenne et la basse Mœsie), la Bulgarie Occidentale (l'ancienne Macédoine) et la Bulgarie méridionale (l'ancienne Thrace).

"Les Bulgares constituant la majorité de la population de la Bulgarie, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, il est superflu de dire que tout ce pays doit se trouver sous la dépendance spirituelle de l'Exarcat Bulgare. Mais, loin de là, une grande partie du pays est exclue jusqu'aujourd'hui de ce droit, qui est cependant incontestable. Un examen, quoiqu'incomplet, prouvera ce que j'avance.

"Tout le pays habité par les Bulgares, comprend trente-quatre éparchies ainsi distribuées : douze dans la Bulgarie septentrionale ; seize dans la Bulgarie occidentale ; et six dans la Bulgarie méridionale. Elles sont divisées en deux catégories : la première comprend toutes celles dont la population est tout à fait Bulgare ; la seconde, celles qu'on qualifie du nom d'éparchies mixtes.

"Les éparchies de la première catégorie, au nombre de 23, sont les suivantes : celles de Widdin, de Pirot ou de Nichava, de Nich, de Vratza, de Roustchouq, de Silistrie, de Preslav, de Tirnova, de Loftcha, de Kustendil, de Skopié, de Sophia de Somakof, de Vélès, de Dibré, de Bitolia ou Pélagonie, d'Ochrida ou de Prespa, de Moglena, de Vodina, de Koukouch ou Polian, de Strouna, de Melenik et de Philippopoli. Dans ces 23 éparchies on ne trouve que 8 villages habités par des Valaques, ceux de Magaréva, Tirnovo, Zindjopoli, Gopichi, Malovischta, la moitié de Crouchévo, Néveska et Pissodéri, quelques villages des bords du Danube habités par des Roumains, et quelques familles Vlakho-Albanaises, émigrées dans certaines villes à la suite de la destruction de quelques villes et bourgs de l'Albanie, comme par exemple de Voskopoli, de Biltouki, &c. On ne trouve des Grecs que dans l'éparchie de Philippopoli, et là ils ne constituent que les trois-soixantièmes de la population.

"Les douze éparchies de Varna, de Mésembrie, d'Anchialo, de Sozongathopol, de Maronie, de Xanthi, de Salonique, de Sérès, de Drama, d'Andrinople, de Dimotica, et de Costour sont qualifiées du nom d'éparchies mixtes, parce qu'on y trouve un peu plus de Grecs que dans les éparchies précédentes. Mais ici encore quel en est le nombre à côté de celui de la population Bulgare? Les Bulgares y forment les trois-quarts de la population. Dans l'éparchie de Costour, les Grecs atteignent à peine les deux-quarantièmes de la population, et ils ne portent pour la plupart ce nom que depuis quelques années, grâce aux efforts de certains comités Grecs fondés dans le but de gréciser les Bulgares de la Macédoine et de donner par suite à cette province une couleur Grecque. Les Grecs qu'on rencontre dans les autres éparchies, surtout dans celles qui bordent la Mer Noire et l'Archipel, ne peuplent que quelques ports où ils s'occupent de commerce. En tout cas ils sont en minorité dans ces éparchies.

"Il est maintenant facile de concevoir la puérilité des prétentions de quelques intéressés et égoïstes qui se permettent d'avancer que, si justice était faite, les éparchies mixtes devraient revenir au Patriarcat Grec de Constantinople. Il ne serait pas moins juste alors d'appeler villes Grecques Marseille, Venise, Trieste, Manchester, &c., car l'élément Grec ne manque pas dans ces villes non plus. Nous ne nous écartons pas de la vérité en avançant qu'une enquête faite dans les éparchies mixtes suffirait, quelqu' incomplète qu'elle fût, à démontrer l'excès énorme de la population Bulgare sur la population Grecque. Quant à l'accusation portée contre les Bulgares de vouloir fonder une Eglise Philétique sans limites naturelles, nous croyons superflu d'y répondre, car elle manque de tout fondement. Serait-ce fonder une Eglise Philétique que de demander justice pour une population qui formant la majorité dans une éparchie, revendique pour soi le droit de reconnaître son chef spirituelle légitime?

"Bien des villages Bulgares se trouvent dispersés dans des éparchies où les Grecs constituent la majorité de la population, comme par exemple dans les éparchies de Derkon, de Visa, d'Héraclée, de Silivri, de la Caliopolis, de Véria, de Servi. Ces éparchies n'ont été et ne seront jamais réclamées. De même, nous entendons que l'autorité spirituelle soit cédée à l'Exarcat sur les éparchies où les Grecs sont en minorité.

"Espérons, qu'une fois la paix rétablie, justice sera faite.

"UN BULGARE MACEDONIEN."

No. 411.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1349.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 10, 1876.

I PERCEIVE in the English newspapers the prevalence of a conviction that, provided the Marquis of Salisbury and General Ignatiew can come to an understanding upon the measures to be expected from the Porte, no further difficulty need be apprehended, as the acquiescence of the Imperial Government will be a matter of course.

This I believe to be an entire delusion.

The united action of Great Britain and Russia must have immense weight with the Porte, but the influence of Her Majesty's Government as a friendly adviser is not what it was a short time ago.

The declaration of important personages that the Turks must be driven out of Europe causes a feeling of distrust against anything we may recommend in concert with Russia.

Convinced that Russia intends to attack it, the whole nation has resolved to offer the best resistance in its power, and that resistance will certainly be stubborn, though probably futile; but the Turks say that there would be less discredit in being driven by force from their territories than in being cajoled out of them.

The Christian populations are as unanimously opposed to the threatened Russian aggression as the Turks, for they know it to be undertaken in the interest of a particular nationality, which they dread and at the same time despise.

Although the Marquis of Salisbury will report to your Lordship everything connected with the progress of the proceedings of the Conference, I think it my duty to keep Her Majesty's Government informed of the temper of the nation, which must be taken into account if a successful issue is to be hoped for, and a knowledge of which cannot well be ascertained in a few days.

I hope, from what I learn, that the Turkish Government may be found disposed to grant most of the concessions expected from them, coming fairly within the limits of the bases upon which the Conference was accepted by them; but if measures are proposed which they regard as contrary to the engagement that both the territorial integrity and the independence of the Porte should be respected, their resistance will be very great and probably insuperable.

They are aware that if the Conference breaks down and war ensues upon their rejection of proposals supported by all the Powers, their position will be worse than it would have been before; but this consideration will not, in my opinion, restrain them.

Such a result would be most unfortunate, not only on account of the position in which it would place Turkey, but as diminishing the force of any protest which Her Majesty's Government might wish to make against coercive measures adopted by Russia, in consequence of the rejection of the proposals which they had themselves approved.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 412.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1350.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 11, 1876.

THE village of Salash in the district of Adlié, upon Turkish territory, having been in the occupation of the Servians upon the establishment of the armistice was necessarily left in their hands.

The Armistice Commission, fearing that if the Servian troops evacuated the village it would be exposed to reprisals from the Turks for having taken part against them, referred the question to the Ambassadors, by whom it was agreed that the Russian Embassy should address a note to the Porte on the part of all the Embassies, requesting that an amnesty should be granted to the inhabitants.

Of this note I have the honour to inclose a copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 412.

Note-Verbale addressed by the Russian Embassy to the Sublime Porte.

Le $\frac{\text{November}}{\text{December}}$ 1876.

L'AMBASSADE Impériale de Russie croit devoir porter à la connaissance de la Sublime Porte les faits suivants :—

Le village de Salash, situé près d'Adlié, est resté occupé par les troupes Serbes lors de la cessation des hostilités. La Commission de Démarcation a reconnu qu'elles en avaient le droit strict, et n'a pas insisté pour obtenir l'évacuation de ce point dans la crainte d'exposer ses habitants à des représailles.

Les Commissaires en ont référé aux Représentants des Puissances à Constantinople. Ceux-ci sont tombés d'accord qu'il ne leur serait possible d'examiner s'il y a lieu d'éloigner

les troupes Serbes de cette localité, que si la Sublime Porte accordait formellement une amnistie complète et scrupuleusement observée à la population.

L'Ambassade Impériale a l'honneur de prier la Sublime Porte de vouloir bien lui faire connaître la décision du Gouvernement Ottoman à cet égard.

No. 413.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1351.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 11, 1876.*

IN the instructions to the Military Delegates for fixing the delimitations of the armistice with Servia provision had to be made with respect to the Bosnian insurgents.

I believe most of my colleagues were aware of the difficulty with which it would be attended, but such a point had been made to have the insurgents included in the armistice that it was necessary to make at least a show of doing something.

The Delegates, having completed the demarcation at Alexinatz, telegraphed from Belgrade to General Ignatiew, as Doyen of the Representatives, that it would be desirable to invite the Chiefs to meet them, and at their request safe-conducts were applied for from the Porte, which declined to accede to the request, on the ground of there being no insurgents near the Servian frontier.

This upon inquiry proved to be the case, and it was only with difficulty that General Ignatiew at last ascertained that what insurgents remain were collected at Lievno, near the Dalmatian frontier.

At a meeting of the Representatives to arrange about the instructions to be sent I had suggested that, as the Montenegrin Commission had very nearly completed their work, it would be preferable to send them to Bosnia to concert with the insurgents, leaving the Servian Commission free to finish the Servian demarcation.

General Ignatiew took the opposite view, and I did not insist upon my opinion.

More than a week was lost before anything could be heard respecting the position of the insurgents, when it became evident that the Servian Commission could not enter into communication with them without putting off the Servian demarcation for a lengthened period, and at another meeting of the Representatives General Ignatiew proposed that we should adopt the plan which I had at first proposed, and direct the Montenegrin Commission, which had finished its task, to proceed to Lievno.

The telegram herewith inclosed in copy was agreed to, and forwarded by me to Colonel Lennox, as President of the Commission, for the guidance of himself and colleagues.

I should state to your Lordship that I have taken no leading part in reference to the proceedings of the Commissions, confining myself to the suggestions which struck me, but accepting all the arrangements which General Ignatiew preferred.

I inclose copies of the telegraphic correspondence which has passed on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 413.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to General Ignatiew.

(Télégraphique.) *Alexinatz, le 1/13 Novembre, 1876.*

LA Commission ne voit pas possibilité de terminer ses opérations militaires proprement dites sur la frontière Serbe avant le milieu de Décembre. Elle a l'honneur de soumettre ce fait à l'appréciation de MM. les Ambassadeurs, en les priant de juger si la Commission de Monténégro ne pourrait être, dès à présent, chargée du travail prescrit par l'avant dernier alinéa des instructions.

Inclosure 2 in No. 413.

General Ignatiew to Major-General Sir A. Kemball.

(Télégraphique.) *Péra, le 1/13 Novembre, 1876.*

SOUMETTRAI aux collègues votre proposition, mais crois devoir vous prévenir, dès à présent, que Commissaires au Monténégro se sont partagés en deux groupes et vérifient dans ce moment ligne de démarcation tant en Herzégovine que du côté d'Albanie. Douteux qu'ils puissent matériellement se charger de l'exécution que vous proposez.

Inclosure 3 in No. 413.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Alexinatz, November 28, 1876.*

THE Commission proceeding Bosnia will arrive Bellina 5th or 6th December. In order to avoid loss of time, and while Commission is engaged in settling a military line of demarkation between belligerents, it is desirable that the Consular Agents should collect all possible information respecting insurgent Chiefs, their centres of action and places of residence. These Agents might, by the direction of Ambassadors, ask in advance the necessary safe-conduct for the insurgent Chiefs and direct them upon Bellina, the point which the Commission consider, subject to orders to the contrary, as the most convenient. They must at the same time obtain the formal consent of the authorities not to prosecute hostilities against the insurgent bands in the absence of their Chiefs. The Austrian Commissioner intimates, however, that it is necessary to obtain a special authorization from the Austrian Government in the event of certain of these Chiefs wishing to proceed to Bellina by the short route through Austrian territory. Please communicate to Dean of Diplomatic Corps.

Inclosure 4 in No. 413.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul-General White.

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 30, 1876.*

INFORM Delegates that an instruction will be communicated to them by the Russian Agent in the name of all the Ambassadors.

Au nom de tous les Ambassadeurs:

Veuillez communiquer aux Commissaires de Démarcation la dépêche suivante de leurs Ambassadeurs:—

Ayant reçu votre dernier rapport d'Alexinatz, les Ambassadeurs en communiquant le contenu à leurs Consuls respectifs à Sérajevo, et les invitant à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour le voyage des Chefs à Bjerma.

Inclosure 5 in No. 413.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul Holmes.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 30 Novembre, 1876.*

VEUILLEZ faire tous vos efforts pour décider les Chefs insurgés à envoyer deux d'entre eux à Bjelina à l'effet de s'aboucher avec la Commission de Démarcation et établir l'armistice. Vous demanderez à l'avance des autorités Turques des saufs-conduits pour eux et l'assurance formelle qu'en leur absence les Turcs s'abstiendront de toute hostilité contre les insurgés.

Veuillez vous entendre à ce sujet avec vos collègues, qui ont des instructions identiques.

Inclosure 6 in No. 413.

General Ignatiew to the Russian Consul at Belgrade.

(Télégraphique.) *Le* 24 Novembre / 6 Décembre 1876.

PRÉVENEZ la Commission de Démarcation qu'il est impossible de faire réunir à Bellina les Chefs insurgés, ainsi que le désirait la Commission, et que les Représentants à Constantinople invitent MM. les Commissaires à achever avant tout la démarcation Turco-Serbe. Relativement aux insurgés Bosniaques les Ambassadeurs aviseront.

Inclosure 7 in No. 413.

General Ignatiew to the Russian Consul at Serajevo.

(Télégraphique.) *Le* 24 Novembre / 6 Décembre 1876.

REÇUE télégramme où les difficultés que présente l'exécution de vos instructions précédentes données par suite de la demande de la Commission de Démarcation, je vous invite, d'accord avec mes collègues, de ne plus y donner suite, tout en veillant que les hostilités ne soient pas reprises en Bulgarie.

Inclosure 8 in No. 413.

Colonel Lennox to Sir H. Elliot.

(Télégraphique.) *Ragusa, le 6 Décembre*, 1876.

LA Commission a rempli sa mission.

Les parties ont reçu communication et accusé réception des décisions complémentaires prises sur place à Zaslap et Pollyoritza. Moukhtar Pasha seulement, tout en protestant de son intention de respecter l'armistice, prédit faire des objections, mais ne veut pas les formuler malgré notre invitation; c'est un moyen de traîner les choses en longueur, et la Commission croit devoir passer outre elle se dissoudra après-demain à moins d'ordres contraires, des Délégués attendent une réponse pour partir Samedi.

Inclosure 9 in No. 413.

Sir H. Elliot to Colonel Lennox.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 8 Décembre*, 1876.

VOTRE télégramme reçu.

L'œuvre de démarcation en Herzégovine et Albanie doit être considérée comme terminée. Moukhtar Pasha doit respecter ligne de démarcation et décision de la Commission. Représentants à Constantinople ont décidé de vous confier ainsi qu'à vos collègues d'exécuter dans la partie occidentale de la Bosnie adjacente à la frontière Croito-Dalmate l'exécution de l'avant dernier paragraphe des instructions générales du 23 Novembre relativement à la Bosnie, c'est-à-dire la localisation des bandes insurgées afin de prévenir la continuation des hostilités. Vous vous rendrez donc à Spalato avec l'aide des autorités Austro-Hongroises, tâcherez de vous mettre en rapport avec les Chefs insurgés se trouvant à Livno et en faire venir à cet effet deux Délégués à la frontière pour y recevoir vos indications.

Communiquez à vos collègues.

Inclosure 10 in No. 413.

Colonel Lennox to Sir H. Elliot.

(Télégraphique.) *Ragusa, le 11 Décembre*, 1876.

D'APRÈS vos instructions la Commission a Samedi 9 invité les insurgés Bosniaques et le Vali de Bosnie à nous envoyer de délégués à Spalato: le Vali nous répond l'armistice donné par le Gouvernement Impérial concerne la Serbie et le Monténégro. Palato, qui est

désigné, étant en territoire Autrichien, n'est pas un point intermédiaire de ces deux pays; les brigands qui n'ont pas d'endroits fixes, mais qui circulent sur les frontières, étant composés de quelques vagabonds Bosniaques et de plusieurs étrangers, ne sont pas reconnus par le Gouvernement.

Je regrette donc de ne pas pouvoir accéder à votre demande pour envoyer des délégués, et surtout à défaut d'autorisation de la Sublime Porte nous lui télégraphions aujourd'hui que la Commission accomplira sa mission sans ses délégués, s'il est nécessaire, mais l'engage pour gagner du temps à les envoyer sans attendre les instructions réclamées à Constantinople.

No. 414.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1353.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 11, 1876.

THE Governor of Tultcha having called upon me this morning I inquired of him into the state of the Dobrutcha, and especially into the conduct of the Circassians.

He declared that throughout that district there was nothing to give uneasiness, but he was now endeavouring to obtain the sanction of the Porte for a total reorganization of the police, of which the present constitution was as bad as it is possible to imagine.

Christians as well as Mussulmans must be taken into it, with sufficient regular pay assigned to them, and a stop must be put to their practice of living at free quarters on the inhabitants.

He had already organized a mixed gendarmerie of Turks, Circassians, and Christians, which is working satisfactorily, and he proposed to give it further development.

He had issued an order prohibiting anyone from carrying arms, and had encountered no difficulty from the Circassians in its execution, although in one or two cases he had been obliged to imprison persons who had disregarded it.

Either Turks or Christians who required to carry arms for their protection on a journey received a pass to authorize them to do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 415.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1355.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 12, 1876.

IN forwarding to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch from Mr. Baring I have the honour to call your attention to the last paragraph, which shows that if the proposal which has been brought forward of confining the regular Turkish troops to the fortresses is acted upon, the result will not be favourable to the security of the populations.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 415.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Philippopoli, December* 4, 1876.

SINCE I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency my despatch of the 24th instant the Commission has been principally occupied with matters of minor importance.

Abdullah Effendi, the Kiatib of the Mudir of Derbent, mentioned in my despatch of the 5th October as having robbed a woman of the village, has been sentenced by the Commission to three and a-half years' imprisonment, with hard labour.

Ahmed Agha of Koniah, in Asia Minor, a Yuz-bashi of zaptiés, has been examined on a charge of having extorted money from four villagers of Keitchma, whom he arrested and then released. He will be put under arrest to-morrow.

Halil Pehlivan of Baratoun, a zaptié, has been arrested and charged with the murder of a man at Batak. It was thought that the wife of the murdered man would be able to identify him, but she has failed to do so, and as the other evidence against him breaks down, he will probably be released at once.

Fresh orders have been issued for the arrest of ten men implicated in different affairs, and rewards have been offered for their capture; moreover, the officers of zaptiés in the different districts will be held responsible if these criminals are not now arrested.

The final trial of the Batak case will begin on Thursday next, and should be terminated in a few days. I had hoped that it would have been commenced to-day, but delays have occurred owing to the prisoners not having procured any one to undertake their defence. Four of them have now entrusted this task to one Ali Effendi, the man who acted as prosecutor during the Bulgarian trials; the other two will conduct their own defence.

It is now to be hoped that this case will at last be brought to a close, as it has been going on for two months, *i.e.*, from the date of Ahmed Agha's arrest, which took place on the 3rd October, and during the whole of which time he has of course been in close confinement.

The summary of the Derbent case is almost finished, and Tossoun Bey's final trial should commence immediately after the Batak case is ended.

Four more Bulgarian prisoners were released a few days ago, and I hope that in a short time they will all be set free, as it has been decided to give all, who were not actually insurrectionary leaders, the benefit of the amnesty. Some of those in prison now are accused of murder, but the charges will not be pressed against them.

Pertev Effendi, whom I saw this morning, assured me that in a few days another batch would be released.

No condemnations have taken place since I have been here, and I do not believe that any of the real chiefs of the insurrection are now in prison, as they were all killed at the time of the outbreak, or hanged afterwards.

In my despatch of the 12th ultimo, I informed your Excellency that there had been a change for the better in the state of public security; I regret to say, however, that since that date I have heard of several cases of robbery and violence, particularly in the Bazardjik district, and a few nights ago a regular raid was made upon Avrad Alan by a number of Turks. Luckily there were troops in the village, and when they appeared the robbers fled, leaving their booty behind them; no arrests, however, were made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER BARING.

No. 416.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 24.*)

(No. 1358.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of two Reports from Sir Arnold Kemball, inclosing copies of correspondence with the Armistice Commission respecting the establishment of a neutral zone at points where it was alleged that there had been an infraction of the armistice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 416.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Nisch, December 5, 1876.*

I WAS on the point of leaving Alexinatz for this town about 10 A.M. yesterday, when I received from Colonel Zelenoy the two telegrams which I have the honour to subjoin for your Excellency's information. I also inclose in copy a letter which I thereon addressed to Major Gonne, as well as the telegrams in acknowledgment of Colonel Zelenoy's messages, which I have since forwarded to Belgrade through the officer commanding the Servian troops at Deligrad. These papers set forth in full the action taken by me in the several matters referred to by Colonel Zelenoy. I have only to add that, although I consider the conduct of Colonel Ramzi Bey to have been condemnable, and to have justified the establishment of the neutral zone which has been prescribed in consequence by the Commission, I incline to believe the alleged peremptory character of his notice to the Servian commander at Yankova Klissura to have been exaggerated, and his objections to the advance of the Servian troops to have been restricted to the occupation of the two Mahommedan villages of Stabula and Nebonich "au moment," as remarked by Colonel Zelenoy, "où ils s'établissaient sur la ligne nouvelle déterminée par la Commission."

As these two villages are situated* on the said line of demarcation the right of the Servians to hold them militarily was at least doubtful, and I trust that the Commission will concur in my interpretation of its intention in respect to them.

It only remains for me to report that the Turks, at all points of their position at Alexinatz, have withdrawn their troops behind the neutral zone prescribed by the Commission.

On one point only, at a small village (not mentioned in the map) in advance of Boboviste, had they exceeded the limits assigned to them, in the belief that the said village formed part of Boboviste, but as this view was not shared by me, they (on my requisition) abandoned it as neutral ground.

I have now no reason to apprehend any occasion of conflict or political embarrassment from the Turkish side during the continuance of the armistice. His Excellency Ali Saib Pasha has shown an earnest disposition to conform in all respects to the wishes of the mediating Powers, and to show a conciliatory attitude towards the Servians; his Excellency being even ready, he assured me, to welcome cultivators who should desire to return and till their fields under the protection of the Turkish army of occupation. And the Servians, on their side, will, I trust, reciprocate the toleration so manifested. My own fear of complications would arise from the renewed presence of Bashi-bazouks in the Turkish camp. On this head the Chief of the Staff, Medjib Pasha, has promised, that of the comparatively few persons of this class still loitering at Nisch, not a man shall be permitted to enter the Turkish camp unless exceptionally as a sutler or shop-keeper, and then only under a special licence.

Under the sanction conveyed in your Excellency's telegram of Wednesday last, I propose to leave Nisch for Constantinople on Thursday the 7th instant, to which effect I subjoin a telegram I have this day forwarded to your Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. KEMBALL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 416.

Colonel Zelenoy to Major-General Sir A. Kemball.

(Télégraphique.) *Belgrade, le* $\frac{21 \text{ Novembre}}{3 \text{ Décembre}}$ 1876, 4·35 P.M.

LES Représentants des Puissances à Constantinople ayant notifié à la Commission que par suite d'une entente établie avec la Porte le terme de l'armistice est reculé du 28 Décembre au 1 Janvier, il y a rien de modifier dans ce sens les décisions arbitrales de 18 et 27 Décembre (? Novembre) remises aux Généraux commandant les armées Timok et de la Morava.

Veuillez en aviser officiellement au nom de la Commission l'état-major Ottoman et faire substituer aux mots le 28 Décembre à minuit les mots le 1er Janvier à minuit.

Une communication identique est adressée au Colonel Leschjanine. Veuillez nous accuser réception de cette dépêche.

Inclosure 3 in No. 416.

Colonel Zelenoy to Major-General Sir A. Kemball.

(Télégraphique.)

EN cas d'absence au Général Nedjib Pasha. Le Commandant du corps Serbe de la Morava nous fait savoir qu'à la date du 30 Novembre le Colonel Ramzi Bey accompagné cavaliers réguliers et d'irréguliers s'est présenté aux avant-postes Serbes en avant de Yaukova Klissura au moment où ils s'établissaient sur la ligne nouvelle déterminée par la Commission et a signifié au Commandant des avant-postes qu'il dirigerait une attaque contre ses troupes s'il n'avait pas dans les 24 heures évacué le territoire Ottoman jusqu'à la frontière politique.

* Stabula as shown in the map; Nebonich not mentioned.

La Commission vous prie d'inviter le Quartier Général Ottoman à donner les ordres les plus sévères pour empêcher le retour de semblables faits. Elle se réserve en outre, le cas échéant, de signaler aux Ambassadeurs la conduite du Colonel Ramzi Bey et d'appeler leur attention sur la responsabilité qui devrait résulter pour le commandement de conflits ultérieurs sur la ligne ou en dedans de la ligne. De plus, pour empêcher toute cause de conflit ultérieur, la Commission décide à l'unanimité par modification à la décision arbitrale du 27 Novembre, d'établir en avant de la ligne des avant-postes Serbes une zône neutre d'une largeur moyenne de 4 kilomètres.

Les avant-postes Turcs ne devront pas en conséquence dépasser les villages de Mujova, Rasica, Musace, et Prestresigné. Cette ligne se rattachera à la frontière à l'est par le coure supérieur de Basova et à l'ouest par celui de l'affluent et de la Zoplica.

La Commission vous prie de vouloir bien, si vous le jugez utile, lui répondre à Belgrade.

Inclosure 4 in No. 416.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Major Gonne.

Alexinatz, December 4, 1876.

Sir,

I HAD the honour to receive to-day the telegram from Colonel Zelenoï, which refers to the establishment of the neutral zone between the line of demarcation of Cucale and a line now assigned to the Turkish outposts from Magova to Prestresigné, and I at once communicated the decision of the Commission in this respect to the Mushir Ali Saib Pasha. His Excellency has, at my request, immediately issued orders to the military authorities at Kurshumlie to conform to the limits as prescribed.

Prior, however, to the receipt of Colonel Zelenoï's telegram, I had been required by the Turkish authorities to determine a dispute which had arisen between them and the Servian authorities, regarding the possession of the two Mahommedan villages of Stabula and Webonich, situated on the line of demarcation prescribed by the Commission, at which villages each party claimed the right to establish its outposts.

Considering that the said villages had hitherto remained unoccupied by either Servians or Turks, I deemed I should be acting in the true spirit of the intention of the Commission by declaring them to be neutral, and I have accordingly intimated to those whom it may concern on either side that the said villages must not be held militarily by either belligerent during the armistice.

In requesting that you will be pleased to submit to the Commission the notice I have conveyed to the Servian and Turkish authorities to the above effect, I beg you will express to my colleagues the hope I entertain that my decision will meet with their approval and concurrence.

It was not without a reluctance which contemplated a previous reference to the Porte that his Excellency Ali Saib Pasha yielded to a requisition involving, as it does, on this, as on almost every previous occasion, the cession of ground necessary to form a neutral zone between the positions of the belligerent armies, and I believe that my colleagues will, with me, appreciate the spirit of conciliation manifested in his Excellency's compliance with their further behests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. B. KEMBALL.

Inclosure 5 in No. 416.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to the Commandant of the Servian Troops at Deligrad.

M. le Commandant,

JE vous prie de communiquer à qui de droit l'interprétation que j'ai émise dans la notification ci-incluse sur la ligne de démarcation qui fut décrétée par la Commission Arbitrale sur la frontière de Yankova Klissoura.

D'après la décision de cette Commission interprétée de cette manière les troupes Serbes n'auront pas le droit d'occuper militairement les deux villages Musulmans de Stabula et Nebonié, et également d'après la décision de la Commission nouvellement

décrétée les avant-postes Turcs ne passeront pas la ligne qui s'étend de Magova par Rasica et Musace à Prestresigné.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) A. B. KEMBALL, *Président de la Commission Arbitrale siégeant dernièrement à Alexinatz.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 416.

Memorandum.

Alexinatz, le 4 *Décembre*, 1876.

LA question n'ayant été référée quant au côté auquel devront rester les deux villages de Stabula et Nebonié, qui sont situés sur la ligne de démarcation décrite par la Commission Arbitrale dans la direction de Tchukalé, le Soussigné déclare être l'intention de la Commission que les dits villages resteraient neutres et qu'ils ne seraient occupés ni par l'un ni par l'autre des belligérants pendant l'armistice.

(Signé) A. B. KEMBALL, *Président de la Commission Arbitrale siégeant dernièrement à Alexinatz.*

N.B.—Communication a été faite de cette notification au Chef d'Etat-Major Turc, Nedjib Pacha, sur la même date.

Inclosure 7 in No. 416.

Telegrams.

Nisch, le 5 *Mars*, 1876.

LE Général Kemball présente ses compliments à M. le Commandant des troupes Serbes à Deligrad, et le prie de vouloir bien expédier par télégraphe les deux dépêches suivantes à l'adresse du Colonel Zelenoy, Président de la Commission Arbitrale, &c.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Colonel Zelenoy.

La Porte avait déjà averti le Commandant-en-chef de l'Armée de la Morava que le terme de l'armistice est reculé du 28 Décembre au 1 Janvier. J'ai cependant communiqué au Chef d'Etat-Major votre télégramme à cet égard. Il m'en a accusé réception par écrit après en avoir pris copie.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Colonel Zelenoy.

J'ai communiqué au Commandant-en-chef de l'Armée de la Morava votre télégramme sur le sujet de la zône neutrale du côté de Cucale. Son Excellence quoique surpris par l'exigence de céder une fois de plus tout le terrain nécessaire à former les zônes requises, a cependant sur ma demande donné ordres sévères aux autorités militaires de Kurshumlié d'observer strictement les limites prescrites par la Commission. Avant l'arrivée de votre télégramme une dispute était survenue entre les autorités militaires Turcs et Serbes sur la même frontière quant à la possession des villages Musulmans de Stabula et Nebonié, qui se trouvent situés sur la ligne originale de démarcation. Chacun d'eux réclamait le droit d'y pousser ses avant-postes. Je l'ai cru conforme à l'intention de la Commission de déclarer que les dits deux villages devraient rester neutres et ne devraient être militairement occupés de part et autre pendant l'armistice. Détails suivent par lettre adressée au Major Gonne. L'établissement depuis de la zône neutrale paraît confirmer l'interprétation notifiée par moi de la décision de la Commission.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Nisch, Tuesday, noon.

I do not apprehend any more occasion of conflict here than at Zaitchar or anywhere else since establishment of neutral band. Unless, therefore, directed by you, I will leave Nisch for Constantinople Thursday.

Inclosure 8 in No. 416.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Nisch, December 7, 1876.

Sir,

I HAD hardly closed my despatch to your Excellency of the 5th instant, when I received from Major Gonne the subjoined telegram.

In my reply, also subjoined, I have informed the Commission that (as the penalty of using menacing language to the Servian Commander at Yankova Klissura) Colonel Ramzi Bey has been superseded in the independent command he exercised at Kurshumlié; and, with regard to the alleged violation of the armistice by the Turks in the direction of the village of Salas, in the district of Adlich, that I would invite Osman Pasha to acquaint me with the particulars, and would caution his Excellency to observe strictly the resolutions taken in this case by the Commission.

In the case of Ramzi Bey it is certain no overt act of hostility was committed, and his indiscreet zeal has, I think, been sufficiently atoned by his removal and by the establishment of a neutral zone, for which the requisite space is not only here, as almost everywhere about Alexinatz, taken from ground in the military occupation of the Turks, but is actually Turkish territory, which has never been held by the Servians.

I have yet to learn whether the proposal I have made for the neutrality of the two Mahommedan villages of Stabula and Nebonich, not as a matter of compensation, but on humanitarian grounds, has been acceded to by the Commission.

The communications addressed by myself and by the Mushir, Ali Saib Pasha, at my instance, to Osman Pasha have as yet received no reply. It may be that Osman Pasha had not been informed of the decision of the Commission in respect to that village, and may thus have anticipated the orders he was thereby required to await from Constantinople; but supposing no overt act to have been committed by himself or his subordinates amounting to the violation reported by the Servians, I do not doubt that the caution now conveyed to him will have the effect of staying his further action in the matter.

When the intentions of the Commission have been clearly understood and recognized by both belligerents, I should, as stated in my last despatch, apprehend no occasion of conflict along the whole line from the Danube to the limits of Ali Saib Pasha's command, and as soon as this object shall appear to have been attained, I will carry out my intention of returning to Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. KEMBALL.

P.S.—I also subjoin copy of my telegram in reply to your Excellency's dated yesterday: just received.

A. K.

Inclosure 9 in No. 416.

Telegrams sent by Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Sir H. Elliot.

Nisch, December 6, 1876.

Wednesday, noon.—HAVE determined defer departure until Monday at earliest. Commission still at Belgrade, sending telegrams constantly about alleged Turkish violations of armistice. My informant attributes equal blame to Servians. Must await issue.

Inclosure 10 in No. 416.

Nisch, December 7, 1876.

REMZI BEY a été destitué de son commandement indépendent de Kurshumlié pour avoir menacé les Serbes, ce qui a eu lieu, disait la Commission, non pas 3 Décembre mais 30 Novembre. Acte d'hostilité n'a pas été commis. D'autre côté, les Serbes auraient insisté que les habitants des deux villages Musulmans de Stabula et Tribonié, qui se trouvent sur la ligne de démarcation d'abord décrétée par la Commission, devraient quitter leurs demeures et se retirer ailleurs en Turquie dans l'espace de trois jours. Je crois être l'intention de la Commission que ces deux villages resteraient neutres. Les Turcs ont accepté et observeront strictement la zône nouvellement établie du côté de Cucale, quoique tout le terrain y compris soit territoire Turc jamais tenu militairement par les Serbes. Détails par poste

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Inclosure 11 in No. 416.

Major Gonne to Major-General Sir A. Kemball.

(Télégraphique.) *Belgrade, le 4 Décembre*, 1876.

LA Commission a rapporté aux Ambassadeurs l'affaire de Klissoura et vous prie de donner des ordres sévères pour faire respecter la décision sur Salas. Une violation du côté des Turcs y a eu lieu selon les Serbes 23.

Inclosure 12 in No. 416.

Major-General Sir A. Kemball to Major Gonne.

(Télégraphique.) *Nisch, ce 5 Décembre*, 1876.

LE Général Kemball présente ses compliments à M. le Commandant des troupes Serbes à Deligrad, etc.

Major Gonne.—Télégramme reçu. Quoiqu'il paraît que Ramzi Bey aurait seulement avant minuit du 1 Décembre protesté contre l'occupation militaire des deux villages Musulmans de Stabula et Trébonié jusqu'ici jamais restés entre les mains des Serbes. Son Excellence le Mushir, pour plaire à la Commission, a rappellé Ramzi Bey de Kurshumlié et y a substitué Shaab Bey. Je prie la Commission de constater le fait que les Serbes ont sommé les habitants de Stabula et Trébonié de quitter leurs demeures et de se retirer ailleurs en Turquie dans l'espace de trois jours. Cette démarche de la part des Serbes me semble rendre impérative la neutralité de ces deux villages, telle que je veux croire être l'intention de la Commission.

Quant à Salas, la Commission ne m'a pas communiqué les faits comme elle les aurait constaté. Je m'adresse donc au Commandant Turc de Zaitschar pour m'en informer et aussi pour lui faire part des vœux de la Commission. Dès environs de Gramada un rapport m'arrive que les Serbes on sommé les zaptiés Turcs d'évacuer les Karacol qui se trouvent de ce côté de la frontière. On a prié le Commandant Serbe de faire cette sommation par écrit, car on ne saurait sans doute accepter comme absolument vrai tout ce qui vient d'un côté seulement sans prendre les renseignements de l'autre.

No. 417.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 1359.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1876.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the repeated attempts that have been made to arrange a meeting between the Delegates of the Powers and the Chiefs of the Bosnian insurgents, it has been found impossible to do so. Colonel Lennox, while reporting the opposition offered by the Turkish authorities to such a meeting, telegraphed to me his private opinion that if it was necessary to hold it at all, it would be within the province of a Consular, rather than of a military, Commission.

In consequence of these difficulties it was decided yesterday by the Ambassadors to recall the Commission, and to allow the question of a consultation with the Bosnian insurgents to drop, the arrangement reported by the Servian Commission being consi-

* Limitation of time allowed for executing the resolutions of the Commission.

dered sufficient. An identic note (of which I have the honour to inclose a copy) has, however, been addressed to the Porte.

I have, therefore, telegraphed to Colonel Lennox that the Commission may be considered dissolved.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 417.

Sir H. Elliot to Safvet Pasha.

Constantinople, December 13, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the Commissions entrusted with the delimitation of the armistice in Servia and Montenegro have terminated their labours, but that, in consequence of the refusal of the Turkish authorities to assist them, they have been unable to enter into communication with the Bosnian insurgents.

In these circumstances, I have thought it my duty, in concert with my colleagues, to recall the British Commissioners; and I confidently hope that the Sublime Porte will issue the necessary orders to their troops to avoid collisions at all points, and scrupulously to observe the decisions which have been taken, and which were dictated solely by a spirit of justice and impartiality, and by the desire to prevent any further useless bloodshed.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 418.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 258. Political.)

Ragusa, December 15, 1876.

My Lord,

UPON the receipt this day of your Lordship's despatch No. 9 of the 27th ultimo, instructing me to bring the subject of the mutilation of Turkish soldiers by Montenegrins again before Prince Nicholas, I lost no time in sending to His Highness a note, of which I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 418.

Mr. Monson to the Prince of Montenegro.

Raguse, ce 15 *Décembre*, 1876.

Mon Prince,

SOUS la date du 27 du mois passé le Comte de Derby m'a adressé une communication dans laquelle sa Seigneurie me signale la satisfaction avec laquelle le Gouvernement de la Reine a appris que votre Altesse s'est exprimée dans des termes si accentués à propos des mutilations des soldats Turcs par les Monténégrins, et s'est déclarée décidée à prendre des précautions des plus sevères pour mettre fin à ces actes barbares.

Le Gouvernement de la Reine a pourtant tout dernièrement reçu un rapport de l'Ambassade Anglaise à Constantinople, selon lequel il paraît qu'après la bataille de Medun il y a eu des cas analogues, et d'une cruauté revoltante, dont des soldats Turcs ont été les victimes, et que l'on croit à Constantinople que ces faits sont malheureusement bien avérés. Lord Derby m'a conséquemment chargé d'en faire mention à votre Altesse, et de lui déclarer que le Gouvernement de la Reine ne saurait insister avec trop d'urgence que, dans le cas où par malheur la guerre recommencerait, il serait de la plus haute importance que des mesures efficaces fûssent prises pour assurer que de pareilles horreurs ne se renouvelâssent pas.

Le Gouvernement de la Reine n'a aucun doute sur les sentiments de votre Altesse à cet égard; il ne craint que, malgré ces sentiments indubitables, les Monténégrins ne se

livrent, le cas échéant, à des excès qui ne manqueraient pas de susciter la juste indignation du monde civilisé.

Je prie, &c.
(Signé) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 419.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 260. Political. Confidential.)

Ragusa, December 16, 1876.

My Lord,

THE Baron de Lichtenberg, who has been for more than twenty years German Consul at Ragusa, and who is also the Agent of the German Government in Montenegro, has very often discussed with me the future of the adjoining provinces.

Like most of those who have made this subject a study on the spot, Baron Lichtenberg is of opinion that in the course of events Austria will inevitably have to annex Bosnia and the Herzegovina; and that this solution of the difficulties in these regions is simply a question of time. The argument is, that it will become for Austria a matter of self-preservation; and that, unless the Empire is made to include these provinces, its hold upon Dalmatia will be rendered critical if not impossible.

Certainly if it were practicable to remodel the map of Europe without regard to existing proprietary rights, and with the view simply of giving to each country a reasonable geographical delimitation, the anomaly of leaving a long strip of land like Dalmatia as a barrier between the Turkish provinces and the Adriatic should be one of the first to be remedied. As matters stand Dalmatia is nothing but a line of coast possessing magnificent harbours without any commerce to animate them, while Bosnia and the Herzegovina may justly make the same complaint as Montenegro, that they have no seaport; for the Harbour of Klek cannot be considered as of any commercial value. The Herzegovina does not lose much by this deprivation; but Bosnia has a fertile soil and much natural wealth, which could not but be materially developed by an outlet on the Adriatic. At the present moment its water communication by the various rivers flowing northward into the Save, is effective only with the Danube and the Black Sea, the Narenta being useless for commercial navigation.

The Slav party in Dalmatia are pretty open in expressing their desire for such a consummation; which the Italians, on the other hand, regard as menacing to their language and influence. It is not, I think, that the Slavs are actuated by any strong wish to emancipate their brethren from the Turkish yoke; for, as far as I have any experience of these countries, there is but little love lost between the various nationalities of Slav origin. But they look forward to the future of Austria as that of a great Slave Empire, without much thought as to the manner in which its integral portions are to be made to work together in harmony, so long as the German and Magyar elements are deprived of their present dominant position.

It would seem, from the language of Austrian officials, that this consummation is equally kept in view at Vienna; at any rate, that the one thing clear in the minds of those who direct the policy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is, that whatever may happen in these provinces to affect their relations with Turkey, Austria has priority of claim to annex them, failing any feasible arrangement for the preservation of the *status quo*. This language was repeatedly used to me at Cettigné by Colonel Thömmel, who gave me to understand that he had employed it to check the Prince's advance into the Herzegovina last August. He had been apparently instructed by Count Andrassy to tell Prince Nicholas plainly that Austria would not tolerate any extended annexations of territory by Montenegro on the side of the Herzegovina.

I should think that any one who has had the opportunity of studying the capacity for self-government of the Slavs of these countries would be of opinion that it would be a misfortune for Montenegro to receive at once any large accretions of territory. Doubtless there are to be found in the Montenegrin character many qualities which give good promise of the eventual development of the population of the Principality into a people worthy of becoming the inheritors of the power of the actually dominant race. Like the Magyar element in Hungary, they may be possessed of the energy and vitality necessary to a rapid progress in civilization, and to the acquirement of such a prestige as would give them commanding influence over their neighbours of similar nationality. But they have as yet neither the intelligence nor the education sufficient to compensate for the paucity of their numbers. Those who know them and the other Slav populations infinitely better than I

can profess to do; assure me that they give indications of capacity far more promising than are to be found in the Bosnians and Servians; and that if any regenerating element is to be discovered among the various nationalities of Slav origin, it may be looked for with greater likelihood of success from the mountaineers of the Czmagorn than from the inhabitants of the valleys of the Drina and the Morava. They confess, at the same time, that it would be premature to assert that these eligible qualities are so pronounced, and so indisputable, as to entitle the Montenegrins to be considered as the pioneers of Slav independence.

However this may be, I am inclined to believe that, in the event of a recommencement of the war, Austria will take care that Prince Nicholas shall not play too great a part, nor acquire too great a claim for territorial extension towards the north. She has no objection, it seems, to His Highness pushing his conquests southward, for she knows that Montenegro has but little chance of gaining much upon the side of Albania; and that in that direction there is not, at any rate at present, any real danger of the Principality receiving considerable accessions of strength.

The Prince himself is perfectly well aware of the purely selfish character of the political views held respecting him both by Russia and Austria. Consequently, he is by no means desirous of any material alteration in the condition of his neighbours. It would suit him very much better to become, as he says, the useful friend of the Porte, recognized as such by the Ottoman Government, and honestly doing his best to keep the Herzegovinians quiet than to have to contribute, by re-engaging in hostilities, to the precipitation of such a catastrophe in Bosnia and the Herzegovina as would necessitate the occupation of those provinces by Austrian troops, and their almost certain eventual annexation to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Prince, I think, sees that the policy most advantageous to his future interests is to be content with the good fortune of his recent campaigns, and not to alarm Austria by showing himself too greedy of territory.

The Slavs in Dalmatia, whatever may be their real enthusiasm in the cause of Panslavism, are certainly no friends, at heart, to Montenegro; and the idea that all the aid and encouragement given by them to the insurrection will result only in the aggrandizement of that Principality is not one of which they at all approve. In Ragusa the most pronounced Slavophiles are by no means sympathisers with the ambition of Prince Nicholas, which would, they fear, rob them of a possible, perhaps an imminent, inheritance. A limitation, therefore, by the Cabinet of Vienna of the territorial pretensions put forward by His Highness—such a limitation, in fact, as that laid down by Colonel Lennox on the map recently forwarded to your Lordship, would not be distasteful here.

Having an opportunity of forwarding this despatch to Vienna by private hand, I have ventured to write in a way that I should not have employed had I to trust to the forbearance of the Austrian post. I hope that your Lordship will accept this as my excuse for the freedom with which I have expressed myself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 420.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(No. 888. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 21, 1876.*

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday respecting the signature of a Protocol or Minute of the Proceedings of the Preliminary Conferences at Constantinople, I am told that Count Beust has reported that your Lordship had given no answer to a communication which he made to you on the subject, in consequence of the telegram sent to him on the 17th instant.

Count Zichy has, therefore, been instructed to be guided by the example of Lord Salisbury with respect to the signature of the Minute.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 421.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 24.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 24 Décembre, 1876.*

REÇU télégramme No. 431, Spécial.

J'en ai donné lecture au Grand Vizir. Son Altesse a reçu cette communication avec une profonde reconnaissance, et elle vous prie d'en exprimer à son Excellence Lord Derby sa vive gratitude. Vous exposerez à sa Seigneurie, au nom du Grand Vizir, que la Sublime Porte compte plus que jamais sur l'appui bienveillant du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dans les circonstances difficiles que nous traversons. La haute sagesse et l'esprit de justice qui distinguent le Ministre éminent qui dirige avec tant de loyauté les relations extérieures de l'Angleterre nous sont un sûr garant qu'il voudra bien nous donner une nouvelle preuve de sa bienveillance et de sa précieuse amitié.

No. 422.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 24, 1876, 5 P.M.*

THANK you for the leave of absence. I shall endeavour, if possible, to remain to the end of the Conference.

No. 423.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

(No. 51. Consular.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, December 13, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that orders have been received here from Constantinople to discharge all the engineers and "conducteurs" employed in this Vilayet in consequence of the suspension of public works throughout the Empire.

Absolutely nothing has been done in this province during the last two years in the way of road-making or repairing, and even the two principal highways from Serajevo to Brood, on the Save, and from Serajevo to Mostar are in such a neglected and dilapidated state that it is becoming daily more difficult and dangerous to traverse them in wheeled vehicles.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 424.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

(No. 61. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, December 12, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that instructions have been received here from the Porte to proceed to the election of members for the "Medjliss-i-umumi," or Popular Assembly of the Empire. Two Mussulmans, Haidar Bey Chenghitch and Mustapha Bey Fazlipashich, one Orthodox Christian, Manuel Eftanovitch, and one Jew, Salomon Salom, have been charged each to prepare a list of those persons belonging to their several communities suitable for, and desirous of, election. These lists will then be presented to the "Idareh-Medjliss," or Administrative Council, in which will be vested the exclusive right of final election.

The Catholics seem to have been entirely overlooked in this arrangement, and it has given them, I am told, great umbrage. I am not aware, however, that it was meant as an intentional slight to their community, but am inclined to think that it was rather the result of a negligent omission. According to a most unjust regulation, made in the year 1870, under the Government of Safvet Pasha, a Catholic and a Jew sit alternately in the

Idareh Medjliss, each for a period of two years. At the present time there happens thus to be a Jewish member but no Catholic one, and I believe this to be the sole reason why no list of candidates has been required from the Catholics. It is to be hoped that this error will eventually be rectified, and no such injustice committed as that the Jews, who do not number more than 3,000 in the whole province, be represented and not the Catholics, who number, at least, 150,000, and have always been the most loyal among the Christian subjects of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 425.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

(No. 62. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, December 13, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship an instance of conversion to Islamism of a Catholic woman that lately happened here, attended by circumstances which have caused much comment among all classes.

Some ten months ago a certain Kata, wife of Stepan Paulovich of Vjaka, in the district of Vissoko, had intercourse with a Mussulman named Topolovich, and was induced by him to come to Serajevo and declare her intention of abandoning her family and embracing Islamism. When she arrived at Serajevo, however, she was persuaded by her friends and the priests not to forsake her religion and to return to her husband. She lately again resolved to become Mussulman and the wife of the said Topolovich, and not many days since finally abjured, in the presence of the Medjliss, the religion of her ancestors.

The question then arose as to what was to become of her children, girls of 3 and 9 years respectively. The Mussulmans said they must accompany the mother, but this the Catholic rector of Serajevo, who as such has a seat in the Medjliss, energetically opposed, and a violent altercation ensued. Notwithstanding the formal protest of the Catholic rector and his refusal to put his seal to any such decision, as contrary to all precedent, the children were finally given over to their mother. Before dismissing the woman, however, the Cadi had her husband called in, and told him that if he would turn Mussulman he should have his wife and children restored him. He, of course, refused, but made a final appeal to his wife to remain faithful to him and her religion. An indescribable scene is then said to have occurred; the woman spurned her husband from her with opprobrious epithets, and amongst others that of "Kiafir." The Catholic priest rose in anger and told her that if her husband was now a Kiafir to her, she was nothing but a Kiafir to him and all Christians; and tranquillity was only restored by the removal of the woman.

The same day a girl of the Orthodox faith was permitted to embrace Islamism in the presence of the Cadi and the Medjliss, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of her parents and their asseveration that she was but 11 years of age.

I am told that more conversions of Christian women to Islamism have taken place in Bosnia and the Herzegovina during the last twelvemonth than for many years past, and unfortunately the authorities are only too ready to further such conversions, and thereby stir up the fanaticism of both Mohammedans and Christians at a moment when their aim should be to allay all such passions.

In connection with the subject of religious fanaticism, I would mention that an innovation has lately been introduced at the Government Konak which causes much surprise. From the balcony of the building a muezzin calls out the various hours of prayer, and in the grand reception room midday and afternoon prayers are conducted by an Imam with the same formality as at mosque, for the especial benefit of the Mussulman Government employés.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 426.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

(No. 63. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, December 15, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that arrangements are being made for raising a large auxiliary force in Bosnia. When the conscription was first enforced in this Province, in the year 1864, there was a large proportion of the Mussulman population, who though still young, was beyond the age liable to conscription. All these up to the age of fifty are now to be called out for active service. They will be subjected to military discipline, commanded by officers of the regular army, and drilled sufficiently to enable them to handle their arms with dexterity and to understand a few necessary bugle calls and words of command. Arms will be provided them, but they will wear their own ordinary dress, sandals and fezes alone being furnished by the Government, and they will receive the same rations as the regular troops, but no pay. The force thus to be raised I have heard estimated at 50,000 men, but considering that the whole male Mussulman population of Bosnia does not exceed 250,000 I consider this to be a most extravagant calculation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 427.

Mr. Monson to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

(No. 263. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, December 17, 1876.*

HAVING gone to Gravosa yesterday afternoon to despatch a messenger with my official correspondence for Vienna, I had an opportunity of being present at the embarkation of the Turkish soldiers, to whom my despatch No. 262 of the 16th instant refers.

I was informed that they numbered about 3,000, but I have not as yet been able to verify this calculation; and as it was very nearly dark at the time, it was impossible for me to make even a rough estimate of their numbers. I was, however, able to assure myself, by walking about among them, that not one man in a hundred was either sick or wounded. Their clothing indeed showed the effects of rough campaigning; but the men themselves were hale, apparently well-fed, and decidedly in good spirits. All were unarmed except the officers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 428.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 25.)

(No. 600.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December 19, 1876.*

I CALLED on Prince Gortchakow yesterday, but his Highness was on the point of going to the Emperor, and consequently I had only a few minutes' conversation with him.

He said that his reports from Constantinople were favourable, and that the communications of General Ignatiew with Lord Salisbury had been generally satisfactory.

I am also privately informed that the Emperor has expressed his satisfaction with the progress of the negotiations at Constantinople, having observed that he considered three portions of the question as arranged.

The general tone here has become much calmer and more pacific, and the enthusiasm for war has almost entirely subsided.

This change may be attributed to various causes:—

1. The failure of the internal loan for 100,000,000 roubles, and the difficulties of the financial position.

2. The lamentable accounts given by the Russian volunteers of the state of affairs in Servia and the hardships they had to undergo during the last Servian campaign.

3. The absence of enthusiasm in the army to undertake a war for an "idea" where no material profits are to be gained.

4. The conviction among all sensible men here that a war, however successful, will be the ruin of Russia for many subsequent years; and, lastly, the well-known ardent wish of the Emperor to avoid war if possible.

The tone of the press has also become more moderate. The occupation of Bulgaria is no longer announced as necessary and inevitable, but is put forward merely in case that no other guarantee equally efficacious should be proposed.

In short, affairs have taken during the last week a much more moderate and pacific tone, which gives better hopes of a satisfactory solution of existing complications.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 429.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 25.)

My Lord, *Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le* 24 *Décembre*, 1876.

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-incluse d'une dépêche télégraphique que je reçois à l'instant du Gouvernement Impérial, et qui contient le résumé des dispositions fondamentales et essentielles de la Constitution que Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan vient d'octroyer à ses peuples.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 429.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 23 *Décembre*, 1876.

LA Constitution octroyée par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à ses peuples a été proclamée aujourd'hui à la Sublime Porte avec une grande solennité en présence des Ministres, de tous les fonctionnaires, des autorités religieuses et d'une grande affluence de population enthousiaste.

Voici le résumé des dispositions fondamentales et essentielles que cette Constitution renferme:—

"Indivisibilité de l'Empire Ottoman. Le Sultan, Calife Suprême des Musulmans et Souverain de tous les sujets Ottomans, est irresponsable et inviolable. Ses prérogatives sont celles des Souverains Constitutionnels de l'Occident. Les sujets de l'Empire sont indistinctement appelés Ottomans. Leur liberté individuelle est inviolable et garantie par les lois.

"L'Islamism est la religion de l'Etat; mais le libre exercice de tous les cultes réconnus est garanti, et les priviléges religieux des communautés sont maintenus. Aucune disposition donnant un caractère théocratique aux institutions de l'Etat n'existe dans la Constitution.

"Liberté de la presse. Droit d'association. Droit de pétition pour tous les Ottomans près des deux Chambres. Liberté de l'enseignement. Equalité de tous les Ottomans devant la loi. Mêmes droits et mêmes devoirs envers le pays. Admission aux fonctions publiques sans distinction de religion. Répartition égale des impôts. La propriété garantie. Le domicile inviolable. Nul ne peut être distrait de ses juges naturels.

"Le Conseil des Ministres délibère sous la présidence du Grand Vizir. Chaque Ministre est responsable de la gestion des affaires de son département. La Chambre des Députés peut demander la mise en accusation des Ministres. Une haute Cour est instituée pour les juger. En cas de vote de la Chambre des Députés hostile au Ministère sur question importante, le Sultan change les Ministres, ou dissout la Chambre. Les Ministres peuvent assister aux séances des deux Chambres, et y prendre la parole. Des interpellations peuvent leur être adressées. Les fonctionnaires publics, nommés suivant les conditions fixées par la loi, ne peuvent être révoqués sans motif légal et légitime. La responsabilité des fonctionnaires n'est point dégagée par les ordres contraires à la loi qu'ils auraient reçus d'un supérieur.

"L'Assemblée Générale des Ottomans se compose de deux Chambres, le Sénat et la Chambre des Députés, qui se réunissent le 1er Novembre de chaque année, et dont la session dure quatre mois. Un message du Sultan est adressé aux deux Chambres à l'ouverture de chaque session. Les membres des deux Chambres sont libre dans leur vote et dans l'émission de leurs opinions. Le mandat impératif est interdit. L'initiative des lois appartient en premier lieu au Ministère, puis aux Chambres sous forme de proposition. Les lois sont soumises d'abord à la Chambre des Députés, puis au Sénat, enfin à la sanction Impériale.

"Le Sénat est composé de membres nommés par le Sultan et choisi parmi les sommités du pays. Le Sénat vote les lois déjà adoptées par la Chambre des Députés, et renvoie à cette Chambre ou rejette les dispositions contraires à la Constitution, à l'intégrité et à la sûreté de l'Etat.

"Il y a un Député par 100,000 habitants. L'élection a lieu au scrutin secret. Le mandat de Député est incompatible avec des fonctions publiques. Les élections générales des Députés ont lieu tous les quatre ans. Ils sont rééligibles. En cas de dissolution de la Chambre, les élections générales ont lieu, et la nouvelle Chambre est réunie dans les six mois de la date de la dissolution. Les séances de la Chambre des Députés sont publiques. Les Députés ne peuvent être arrêtés ni poursuivis durant les sessions qu'avec l'autorisation de la Chambre. La Chambre vote les lois par articles, et le budget par chapitres.

"Les juges sont inamovibles. Les audiences des Tribunaux sont publiques. La défense est libre. Les jugements peuvent être publiés. Aucune ingérence ne peut se produire dans l'administration de la justice. Les attributions des Tribunaux seront exactement définies. Les Tribunaux et Commissions d'exception sont interdits. Le Ministère public est créé. La haute Cour, appelée à juger les Ministres, les membres de la Cour de Cassation, et les personnes accusées du crime de lèse Majesté et d'attentat contre l'Etat, est composée de sommités judiciaires et administratives.

"Aucun impôt ne peut être établie ni perçu qu'en vertu d'une loi. La loi du budget est votée au début de chaque session et pour une année seulement. Le règlement définitif du budget de l'exercice écoulé est soumis à la Chambre des Députés sous forme de loi. La Cour des Comptes adresse chaque année à la Chambre des Députés un rapport de comptabilité financière, et à chaque trimestre au Sultan l'exposé de la situation financière. Les membres de la Cour des Comptes sont inamovibles. Aucune révocation n'aura lieu que par une décision de la Chambre des Députés.

"L'administration provinciale est basée sur la plus large décentralisation. Les Conseils Généraux élus traitent et contrôlent les affaires de la province. Chaque canton aura un Conseil élu pour chacune des différentes communautés pour gérer ses affaires propres. Les communes seront administrées par des Conseils Municipaux élus.

"L'instruction primaire est obligatoire.

"L'interprétation des lois appartient, suivant leur nature, à la Cour de Cassation, au Conseil d'Etat ou au Sénat.

"La Constitution ne peut être modifiée que sur l'initiative du Ministère ou de l'une ou l'autre Chambre, et par un vote des deux Chambres à la majorité des deux tiers des voix, sanctionnée par le Sultan."

Ce grand événement est appelé à régénérer le pays et à produire les plus heureux résultats pour toutes les populations de la Turquie.

Je vous enverrai par le courrier le texte de la Constitution.

No. 430.

Mr. Lumley to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 25.)

(No. 130. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Brussels, December* 24, 1876.

DURING a visit I paid to M. Malou on the 22nd, he told me that although the Belgian Government had received no official communication from any Government of the proposition that a police force, composed of neutral troops or volunteers, should be sent to Bulgaria for the purpose of assisting in the maintenance of peace in that Province, reports had reached him from all quarters, which were repeated throughout the European press with details, respecting the force to be sent to Turkey varying from a single regiment of gendarmerie to a corps d'armée of occupation.

In view of these persistent reports a Cabinet Council had been held at the Palace, at which the King presided, the result of which was that a despatch on the subject had been addressed to Baron Solvyns on the 21st instant.

Referring to these reports, Count Lynden states that though from a personal point of view Belgium is perfectly satisfied with the fortunate position created for her by the

Guaranteeing Powers, and had no greater political aspiration than that of maintaining it intact, still, if in the unanimous opinion of the Powers, and with the consent of the Porte, it should appear to be in the power of Belgium to render them a service, any proposition to that effect made to the Belgian Government would receive its most attentive consideration. It would, however, be necessary to guard against the possibility of Belgian citizens being launched into an adventure that might end disastrously, as well as to examine whether the concurrence of other States might not be advisable in the duty thus to be undertaken with a view to the maintenance of peace.

As M. Malou informed me that Baron Solvyns had been instructed to read this despatch to your Lordship, I will only state with regard to it that, as I learn, it is the only official document on the subject that has emanated from the Belgian Foreign Office.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. SAVILE LUMLEY.

No. 431.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 26.*)

(No. 25. Political.)

Odessa, December 12, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch to me from Mr. Vice-Consul Wagstaff, giving an interesting account of a new floating battery now in construction at Nicolaieff.

I understand that the battery can be completed in eight weeks, and is destined for the defence of Odessa, though neither it nor the two circular Popoffkas now frozen in at Nicolaieff can arrive here, unless they can cut through fifty miles of thick ice.

It is possible that the engines which were found useless in the circular Popoffka may be put into this battery, and I hear that the turret for it will be a *fac-simile* of that in the circular "Admiral Popoff;" and that the new gun-carriages, on the Rauskazoff principle, alluded to in my despatch No. 20, Political, will be tried on this pontoon before being placed on the circular ironclad "Admiral Popoff." These gun-carriages are said to be made, and on the point of shipment by Messrs. Easton and Henderson, at Erith-on-Thames, and the large table-bed, 30 feet in diameter, is being cast at Liverpool.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 431.

Vice-Consul Wagstaff to Consul-General Stanley.

Nicolaieff, December 8, 1876.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, that Lieutenant E. E. Goulaieff, arrived yesterday from St. Petersburgh with plans approved of by the Emperor, and signed by the Minister of Marine, for converting two of the pontoons (at present being constructed by Messrs. Clark, Stanfield and Co. for a depositing floating dock) into a floating battery, capable of carrying two 41-ton guns.

The size of each of the pontoons is 72 feet long, 18 feet wide, by 15 feet deep. Two of these will be placed side by side, and securely fastened together, to form the floating battery. They will be nearly submerged, leaving only the turret visible.

The cost of the turret is estimated at 12,000*l.*, and will consist of a 6-inch plate backed with teak, then a second 6 inches of iron, with teak and channel iron backing, and a skin plate similar to the turret of the circular iron-clad Popoffka "Vice-Admiral Popoff."

The side of the turret which will be exposed to fire will have a few outside plates of 12 inches thickness, in lieu of the 6-inch plating.

Messrs. Clark, Stanfield and Co.'s dock will consist of ten pontoons in addition to the sides of the dock and outrigger. Thus, if necessary, the ten pontoons can at once be formed into five formidable floating batteries, and the sides, which are two pieces of 100 feet long, 12 feet wide, by 44 feet deep, and another 80 feet by 12 feet, by 44 feet, when laid on their sides can form three other more formidable batteries.

The contract-price for the dock complete is 99,000*l.*, but the approximate cost of each pontoon is under 5,000*l.* Thus the total cost of a floating battery would be about 22,000*l.*, with nearly all the fighting qualities of the Popoffka, which cost the Imperial Government 270,000*l.*

The material, armour-plates, &c., for the floating battery are all made and drilled and on their way from St. Petersburgh.

The two pontoons are being rapidly proceeded with, and will be ready to be launched in about four weeks' time.

I may here mention that Lieutenant Goulaieff is a naval architect, and, I believe, the designer of the proposed pontoon batteries. He studied at Greenwich and Kensington, and is Aide-de-camp to Admiral Popoff.

This information I have obtained from a trustworthy person, and I hasten to communicate it to you by Captain Runciman, of the steam-ship "Conwood," opportunely leaving for Odessa.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. GEO. WAGSTAFF.

No. 432.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 26.*)

(No. 26. Political. Confidential.)

Odessa, December 15, 1876.

My Lord,

BELIEVING that any information as to the feelings of the Russian people at the present time may be interesting to your Lordship, I have the honour to state briefly the impression I derive from the tone of those around me.

The official class express the sentiments officially declared by Government.

The higher and best-educated classes, not official, are loud in their expressions of sympathy for the Christians of Turkey, and are eager for war, declaring Russia cannot retract anything she has advanced; and while averse, from political reasons, to acquiring more territory (believing additional territory would be harmful to Russia*) desire the formation of autonomous States tributary to Turkey, but completely under the influence of Russia.

These classes have in some respects the least enviable lot in Russia.

Their education makes them feel how much is wanting for perfect freedom, and from their position their acts and words are watched.

They would welcome any convulsion which may give them more liberty of thought and speech.

The middle classes, such as small landowners, house proprietors, retired officers, whilst also expressing sympathy for their co-religionists, would use the present opportunity to acquire more territory. Some of these have said in my hearing that it was well known the misgovernment of the Christians in Turkey was but a pretext, and that Russia intended to have the Danube.

Between them and the peasantry or working classes there is scarcely an intermediate class. In this large town of 200,000 inhabitants, there is hardly a Russian merchant or well-to-do shopkeeper. These are Germans, Italians, French, or Jews.

The peasantry, except in the passport system, which as it were binds them to a locality, and the taxation of certain necessaries, have not much to complain of.

An immense deal has been done for them during late years, and they can be reckoned on as supporters of Government against the discontented upper classes.

The Jews, Roman Catholics, and Greco-Uniats in Russia think they are as much entitled to sympathy and freedom from oppression as the Christians in Turkey. I have even known them go so far as to say they would rather be Turkish than Russian subjects.

In the above remarks I only speak of those with whom I come in contact in the South of Russia, and I am not in a position to say how far the feelings of any of the classes I have mentioned influence Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

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* N.B.—The portion in parenthesis is an addition to original.

No. 433.

Consul-General Stanley to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 26.)

(No. 27. Political.)
Odessa, December 16, 1876.

My Lord,

A SAFE opportunity presenting itself for forwarding letters overland, I have the honour to inclose copies of my despatches to your Lordship, Nos. 25 and 26, Political, sent by the Embassy at Constantinople.

I also inclose copy of another letter to me from Mr. Wagstaff, with sketch made by him of the floating batteries under construction.

With regard to military movements I hear that the head-quarters of the southern army are not to be, as was supposed, at Kishenef, but that the troops are being concentrated at Tartar Baran, on the Moldo-Russian frontier.

Thumla is said to be the point aimed at in case of war, but it is a long way from Tartar Baran to Thumla, and Thumla is strong.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 433.

Vice-Consul Wagstaff to Consul General Stanley.

Nicolaieff, December 14, 1876.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, reporting the proposed conversion of the pontoon floating battery, I now have the honour to transmit, herewith, a rough sketch of Lieutenant Goulaieff's design.

The deck of the floating battery (that is the sides of the pontoon) will be covered with one-inch armour plating, on which the turret will be constructed.

The water-line will be about 18 inches below the deck of the pontoon.

Only the top four feet of the ends and sides of the battery will be covered with armour, in the following manner:—

The upper two feet, the same as on the turret, and the lower two feet only one 6 inches of iron.

The guns will be mounted on the Razskazoff and Anderson's patent hydraulic carriages, now being constructed by Messrs. Easton and Anderson, on the Thames. The bed-plate 30 feet in diameter is being cast at Liverpool. These carriages are, I believe, ready for shipment.

It is possible that the present plan may be somewhat modified. A space will be left between the pontoons, thus forming a useful chamber for the hydraulic apparatus, ammunition, &c., and also greatly adding to the stability and buoyancy of the battery.

I beg to add that the plan of the converted pontoon battery is not favourably looked upon by the Commander-in-chief Admiral Arkass, and the naval officers, but it met the full approbation of General Todtleben, who handed it to the Emperor, and the construction of the battery for the defence of Ochakoff is to be carried out immediately.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. GEORGE WAGSTAFF.

No. 434.

Colonel Maude to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 26.)

(No. 1. Political.)
Warsaw, December 16, 1876.

My Lord,

IN compliance with your Lordship's instructions I have the honour to report, that after careful inquiry, necessarily made with caution, I have ascertained that the Internal Loan has not been subscribed at all largely in Warsaw.

My informants, who are persons possessing ample means of judging of these matters, consider that a sum of 1,000,000 of roubles (about 125,000*l.* sterling) will more than cover the amount subscribed for throughout the Kingdom of Poland. Of this amount almost the whole has been taken up by the leading banks of this city.

Your Lordship will see that, situated as Poland is at present with regard to the Russian Empire, political considerations induce the gentlemen who are at the head of these institutions to make an investment of this nature, which could otherwise hardly be defended from any point of view, as being in the interest of their clients.

With regard to the subscription of the loan throughout the Russian Empire, doubtless your Lordship is already in possession of information from various sources. But, as I have, as regards this particular also reliable authority, I venture to state to your Lordship my conviction that the general success of the loan, as represented in the English press about the time of my departure, is very far from being correct; and that, so far from its having been covered three times over in St. Petersburgh and Moscow alone, it has been with difficulty scraped together in the Empire.

More than this, the Imperial family, whose wealth is, as your Lordship is aware, considerable, have come forward at this juncture, and have themselves subscribed for a large portion of the loan. I am led to believe also that the Orthodox monasteries have taken up no inconsiderable part thereof.

While upon this subject it may not be irrelevant to remark, that the recent extraordinary policy of the Russian Imperial Minister of Finance is already operating most injuriously towards many of the industries of the Kingdom of Poland, which may be said to be in an unprecedently stagnant and depressed condition.

In a further despatch I shall have the honour of entering more fully into this latter subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS C. MAUDE.

No. 435.

Colonel Maude to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 26.)

(No. 2. Political.)
Warsaw, December 16, 1876.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that my attention has been drawn to an article in the "Neue Freie Presse," of Vienna, of the 11th instant, purporting to have been written by their Warsaw correspondent, in which it is stated that I have come to Warsaw on a secret mission to ascertain the state of feeling in the Kingdom of Poland, and how far the Poles are prepared for revolt; that I have full powers to communicate with the Foreign Office upon the subject, if necessary to send special messengers, and even to return to England myself, to report personally thereupon.

With regard to this article, the motive for which I will not attempt to fathom, I trust I may be permitted to assure your Lordship that I have never, by word or sign, given any foundation for such an absurd rumour.

Through the courtesy of my colleague, Baron Finot, the French Consul-General, I have been introduced to all the principal officials of this city, and to several of the leading members of the Polish aristocracy, with some of whom I have held long and interesting conversations, and in several of which these gentlemen have expressed themselves with the greatest cordiality and apparent frankness.

But I have always been careful to preserve the utmost reticence, and on none of these occasions have made any statement, or asked any questions, which could be tortured into bearing such a construction with regard to my mission here, as the "Neue Freie Presse" has endeavoured to fasten upon me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS C. MAUDE.

No. 436.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Lumley.

(No. 66.)
Foreign Office, December 26, 1876.

Sir,

BARON SOLVYNS informed me to-day that he had been directed by Viscount d'Aspremont Lynden to make the following observations upon the subject of the idea of the occupation of Bulgaria by Belgian troops. They expressed, he said, the views of the Belgian Cabinet, as sanctioned by the King.

Up to the present time no proposal on the subject had been made by any Government. It was true that there was a general idea that a neutral force should be sent to Bulgaria, and that a Belgian force had been specified, but the versions reaching the Belgian Government from all sides presented under completely different aspects the aim, object, and conditions of the combination which was being discussed. There was no less difference in the proportions attributed to the expedition, which ranged from a mere body of police to an actual corps of occupation.

Belgium, from her personal point of view, was satisfied with her destiny; it was no part of her duty to assume the rôle of intervening in questions which did not directly concern her, and she did not claim to do so. This had been her policy in the past, and it was the policy which she would still endeavour to follow were she to consider only her exclusive aspirations and her own interests.

Nevertheless, if she had to face a unanimous request of the Great Powers, demanding from her, with the consent of the Porte, a service which it would seem to be in her power to render, she would examine with the most attentive care the proposal submitted to her; she would have to decide whether the projected combination would be likely to produce practical and efficacious results, whether the executive measures would not exceed the limits which she would not feel justified in passing, and whether the stipulations, taken as a whole, would supply complete guarantees.

It should be said frankly, and without fear of wounding any reasonable susceptibilities, that she would not permit her subjects to risk any adventure which might end in disaster.

It would also naturally be a question for her to consider, in case the question should actually arise, whether the duty of assisting in the maintenance of general peace could devolve upon her alone, and should be accomplished by her alone.

I said in reply that the proposals of the preliminary Conference not having as yet been accepted by the Porte, and a rejection of them, total or partial, being unfortunately not impossible, it was not necessary at present to do more than promise that the remarks of his Government, or that part of them which concerned Belgium, should receive careful consideration.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 437.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 1054.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 26, 1876.*

THE Marquis d'Harcourt called to-day at the Foreign Office and read a telegram from the French Ambassador at Vienna stating that Count Andrassy had told him that he saw nothing objectionable or unreasonable in the proposals agreed to by the Plenipotentiaries in the Preliminary Conference, and that he was prepared to support them and to order the Austrian Ambassador to leave Constantinople if the Turks rejected them.

The Marquis d'Harcourt added that the French and Italian Plenipotentiaries, and he believed those of all the other Powers, would do the same.

He also said that his Government had heard that the Russians were no longer eager for war, and that it was probable they might not go to war, even if the Turks were obstinate.

This might, however, only mean, he thought, that they were unwilling to commence hostilities during the winter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 438.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 26, 1876.*

I AM assured that the Porte has nearly completed a purchase through agents in (Germany?) of 26 batteries of Krupp field-guns, with 900 rounds of ammunition for the same.

No. 439.

Consul-General Eldridge to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 49. Political.)
My Lord, *Beyrout, December 11, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 48 of the 23rd ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch No. 50 which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople reporting on the enrolling of the Redifs and the political state of Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

Inclosure in No. 439.

Consul-General Eldridge to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Beyrout, December 11, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd ultimo, reporting the calling out of a further instalment of the Redifs, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that this measure has been effected without difficulty or disorders throughout the vilayet, with the exception of the District of Lattakia, where the Ansaryeh mountaineers have refused to obey the summons and the authorities threaten to use force to compel them.

These reserve forces are now quartered in the towns waiting for orders as to their future destination, and in general their behaviour is equally good with that of those who were enrolled during the spring and summer, as I have not heard that they have in any way molested the inhabitants, who at first greatly feared that some disorders might take place.

In general, the state of Syria is satisfactory as far as the public tranquillity is concerned, though there is much suffering from the stagnation of trade and the withdrawal of so many men from peaceful pursuits to supply the wants of the army, and all classes are anxiously waiting to see what will be the result of the labours of the Conference which, it is supposed, has already commenced its sittings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. JACKSON ELDRIDGE.

No. 440.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 10.)
(Decypher.)
My Lord, *Tiflis, December 12, 1876.*

SIX thousand men, (of?) nine years' service, so-called reserve, arrived at Tiflis since writing last despatch. Hence there are at Tiflis now about 13,000 men, infantry. This will make, including Poti total force, infantry, 58,000; cavalry, 10,000; artillery, 7,000, or 21 batteries: detachments are constantly arriving. Russia would, it seems, evidently be bent on war. Some say there is a large force at Erivan, but it is doubtful. Turks will know (*sic*).

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. T. RICKETTS.

Note.—I cannot find out whether Russians intend not to attack Kars, but to march to south as I reported in my despatch No. 9. Such, however, is the report: Russian map also will show that, though longer, this route is more easy. If this plan be adopted they would enter Turkish territory a little to the north of Bajazet. I hear also that provisions are more plentiful on this route. This route should be watched, and the passes fortified with earth works.

J. T. R.

No. 441.

Consul Kirby Green to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 89.)
My Lord, *Scutari, December 15, 1876.*

ON the 11th instant I had the honour of telegraphing to your Lordship and to Sir Henry Elliot that Derwish Pasha had informed me that the Montenegrins having trespassed upon Turkish territory near Podgoritza, he had despatched Rizah Bey, the Chief of his staff, to the front to put himself in communication on the subject with the Montenegrin Commanders.

Yesterday I had further the honour of telegraphing to your Lordship and to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, that Derwish Pasha had communicated to me a report just received from Rizah Bey to the effect that the Montenegrin Commanders had declined to be governed by the line of limitation fixed by the Demarcation Commission, and that their men had approached to within a very short distance of the walls of Spuz and Podgoritza, and were acting in a very menacing manner.

I earnestly urged the Commander-in-chief to send immediate orders to his troops on the frontier to exercise the greatest forbearance, and not to attach too much importance to infractions of the boundaries committed by Montenegrins, whose acts, from their double quality of soldier and peasant, could be, with a considerable show of truth, disavowed, if advisable, by their Commanders. Derwish Pasha, notwithstanding his personal conviction that the Montenegrins are anxious to bring about a collision in order to avoid the fulfilment of their engagements about the revictualling of Nichsich, complied with my request, and directed that not a shot should be fired on the frontier except after the commencement of an open attack by the Montenegrins.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. KIRBY GREEN.

No. 442.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 641.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 27, 1876.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 580 of the 6th instant, reporting that a Regulation had been issued by the Russian Government on the subject of the obligatory delivery of boxes for the wants of the army in time of war, but that in the list of those exempted from that requisition no mention is made of the XIVth Article of the Treaty of Commerce between England and Russia, whereby British subjects are especially exempted from such contributions, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve your having called the attention of M. de Giers to that omission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 443.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27, 4 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Constantinople, December 27, 1876, 1·50 P.M.*

MR. BARING informs me that Achmet Aga has been condemned to death by a majority of five to one.

The President of the Commission defers reporting the condemnation to the Porte till after the festival of the Bairam, which lasts to the end of the week; and being most anxious that it should not be made known till he has done so, Mr. Baring promised only to inform me in the strictest confidence.

Mr. Baring suspects President of other motives besides Bairam for not communicating the sentence officially to the Porte: of a wish for the acquittal of some of the other prisoners.

No. 444.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, December 27, 1876, 2 P.M.*

Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaïéwitch, Commander-in-chief at Kischenew, is seriously indisposed from an inflammation of the bowels. Bulletin received this morning reports more favourably.

No. 445.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Very Confidential.) *Berlin, December 27, 1876, 4:37 P.M.*

COUNT MUNSTER having reported that your Lordship told him Her Majesty's Government could not exercise any special pressure on the Porte and compel the acceptance of the proposals of the Conference (the Emperor?) desires me to tell your Lordship confidentially that he fears that if the pressure is not equally exercised by the six Powers, Porte may feel encouraged to resist, and war with Russia will ensue, which His Majesty would deeply regret.

No. 446.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Berlin, December 27, 1876.*

AUSTRIAN Ambassador has been summoned to Vienna by the Emperor, and it is believed here that he will return on Saturday with a message to the German Emperor on the affairs of Turkey.

No. 447.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, December 27, 1876, 2·10 P.M.*

REPORT prevalent here that Russian Mediterranean squadron, composed of four vessels, will return to the Baltic or a German port.

The fifth vessel will go or has already sailed for America, to bring, it is said, arms and ammunition.

Russian ports closed by ice.

No. 448.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 27, 1876, 6 P.M.*

WITH reference to a telegram received to-day from Lord Odo Russell, stating that his Austrian colleague had been called to Vienna, I am (informed?) that the Emperor, who had gone to Pesth, returned to Vienna, to be present to-morrow at a Ministerial Council; but it may have reference to the questions pending with Hungary.

No. 449.

Consul Ricketts to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 11.)
(Decypher.)
Tiflis, (no date).

My Lord,

I HEAR that the Government of the Caucasus applied lately to St. Petersburgh for a quantity of gold to be sent to Tiflis to pay the expenses of the army. 100,000 roubles were sent in silver; at the same time it was notified that there was no more gold and no more money. 2,000 horses arrived at Tiflis yesterday for the artillery, this is not yet properly horsed.

I think that Russia cannot, for offensive purposes, bring into the field more than 118,000 men. The following is an estimate of this force:—

The battalions one with another do not apparently exceed 800, and the squadrons, 100, men. Grenadier division, 15,000. Six divisions Infantry, or 96 battalions at 800 to the battalion, 76,000. One division Rifles, of 4 battalions, 2,600. One division Cavalry, or 24 squadrons, at 100 to the squadron, 2,400. Artillery, 7 brigades; each brigade 6 batteries, at 200 to the battery, 8,400. Sappers, 2,400. Total; regular army, 106,800; irregular, namely, 72 squadrons of Cossacks, capable of being withdrawn from their stations, 7,200. Militia, 4,000. Total, 118,000. And this I believe to be a maximum. If, then, the total on foot at present be taken at 75,000, there would still remain 43,000 required to complete this number.

I learn that 11,000 of the reserve have altogether arrived at Tiflis, and that 24,000 more are expected. The army of the Caucasus will therefore hardly exceed 100,000 capable of being placed on Turkish frontier. Nearly all this army is recruited from Russia; the Caucasus only furnishes local troops and Cossacks. The frontier battalions have for the most part been drafted into the regulars, and the local battalions are required in the towns; one-half of the Cossacks are required to be left in the stations.

The Russian force required for defensive on Turkish frontier will be somewhere as follows:—

At least 14,000 to observe Kars, 6,000 at Erivan, 7,000 at Osajet, 5,000 at Poti, 6,000 in the fortress of Alexandropol at Sukunkale, 4,000 at Akhalzikh, and 2,000 at Akalalaki, or about 45,000; there would then remain about 50,000 for an attack on the territory of the Sultan. The army of the Caucasus might be augmented from Russia, but this would weaken her army of the Danube. The Russian soldiers appear without enthusiasm, and are badly clothed and fed.

Some think that Russian army will march by the direct route on Erzeroom, merely making a demonstration at Bajazet. This plan of operations is also not improbable. All passes on Turkish side should be closed. Force at Erivan is about 3,000 men.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. T. RICKETTS.

No. 450.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 28, 1876, 9·30 A.M.*

GENERAL RODICH is on his way to Vienna, and rumours are in circulation of a considerable force having been preparing during the last fortnight or three weeks for active service.

No. 451.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December 28, 1876, 5·45 P.M.*

COUNT MUNSTER does not seem to have correctly understood and explained the attitude of Her Majesty's Government as to the acceptance or refusal by the Porte of the proposals of the Representatives of the Six Powers. You will receive by the messenger who left yesterday evening copies of my despatches to Lord Lyons and Lord A. Loftus of the 21st, recording my conversations with the Marquis d'Harcourt and Count Schouvaloff. They state in the most precise terms that while England will not use coercion to extort

consent, she will not hold out to the Porte any hope of assistance or protection in the event of war on her refusal to entertain proposals. Her Majesty's Government have, therefore, not encouraged Porte to resist, but quite the reverse.

You may communicate to Emperor or Prince Bismarck substance of my language to French and Russian Ambassadors.

No. 452.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 761.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 28, 1876.*

IT was stated by your Excellency in your telegram of yesterday that Count Münster had reported that I had told him that Her Majesty's Government could not exercise any pressure on the Porte to compel the acceptance of the proposals to be made by the Representative of the Six Powers, and that it had consequently been intimated to you by the Emperor that he feared that if pressure were not equally exercised by all the Powers, the Porte might feel encouraged to resist, and war with Russia would ensue, much to the regret of His Imperial Majesty.

It appears from this statement that Count Münster has not correctly understood the attitude of Her Majesty's Government as to the acceptance or rejection by the Porte of the proposals of the Representatives, and has consequently conveyed to his Government an erroneous impression respecting them.

Your Excellency will receive by the messenger who left London yesterday, copies of my despatch to Lord Lyons No. 1046 of the 21st instant, and of my despatch to Lord A. Loftus No. 631 of the same date, recording conversations which I had had with the Marquis d'Harcourt and Count Schouvaloff. You will see that I told the former that Her Majesty's Government would undoubtedly support to the utmost of their power the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople to which in principle they assented; and that I added, as my personal opinion, that though Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared themselves to employ measures of coercion to extort consent, they would not hold out to the Porte any hope of assistance or protection in the event of war ensuing on the refusal to entertain the proposals.

My language to Count Schouvaloff was no less explicit, and on all other occasions I have spoken to the same effect; the fact being that the object of the policy of this country, instead of being the encouragement of the Porte in an attitude of resistance, has been precisely the reverse.

I authorize your Excellency to communicate, either to the Emperor or Prince Bismarck, as you may consider it to be most advisable, the substance of my observations, to which I have above referred, addressed to the French and Russian Ambassadors.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 453.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Monson.

(No. 10.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 28, 1876.*

I APPROVE the note addressed by you to Prince Nicholas, copy of which was inclosed in your despatch No. 258 of the 15th instant, conveying the expression of opinion of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the cases recently reported from Constantinople of the mutilation of Turkish soldiers by Montenegrins.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 454.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 587.)

Foreign Office, December 28, 1876.

Sir,

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and asked me whether, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, any notice should be taken by the Powers of the Constitution just promulgated for the Turkish Empire, and whether its provisions should be discussed in the Conference.

I said that, as I understood the position, the Representatives of the six Powers having agreed upon a certain plan for the administration of the disturbed Provinces of Turkey, must now submit their proposals to the Turkish Government. They had, in fact, I believed, done this at the first meeting of the Conference, and we could only wait for the present to see what view was taken of the proposals by the Porte. If the Turkish Plenipotentiaries in the Conference only raised objections to parts of the scheme, counter-proposals and further discussions might follow. If they rejected the whole scheme absolutely and *in toto*, I have already told his Excellency of the course Her Majesty's Government were prepared to take. We would use all the moral influence we possessed to procure the acceptance of the proposals, but we were not prepared to resort to measures of coercion, or to threats of such measures in support of them. At the same time we would hold out no hope to the Turkish Government of assistance or protection from England if war should be the consequence of their refusal.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 455.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 28, *at night.)*

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, December* 28, 1876, 6 P.M.

I HAVE seen Prince Gortchakow to-day. His reports from Constantinople are not favourable.

Both the Sultan and Midhat Pasha hesitate as to acceptance of the Conference proposals, apparently from fear of Turkish fanaticism.

All Powers are agreed in case of refusal to recall their Ambassadors, leaving Chargés d'Affaires for merely current affairs.

Prince Gortchakow is anxious that Powers should inform the Porte that an attack against Servia or Montenegro would be regarded as an attack against Europe.

Russia will maintain for the present expectant attitude, and will not cross her frontier unless circumstances should oblige her to do so.

It is important to prevent, if possible, renewal of hostilities against Servia and Montenegro either by the conclusion of peace or an extension of the armistice, as it would inevitably lead to immediate war, which it is evidently the object, as well as the interest, of Russia to avoid.

Language of Prince Gortchakow calm and moderate, and I think he is disposed to agree to any reasonable arrangements to avoid war.

No. 456.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 29, 10 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, December* 28, 1876, 11·15 A.M.

I HAVE been unable to call on Midhat Pasha since he became Grand Vizier till yesterday, when our long intimacy made him speak with great freedom.

He said that the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries were based upon the principle of decentralisation, the adoption of which he had succeeded in obtaining; but they carried it further than the Porte could admit, for the Governors-General selected by the Powers would be made almost independent of their own Government.

The Russian dream of establishing small autonomic States would be realized, and confinement of troops to the fortresses and principal towns was a repetition of the steps which led to *quasi* independence of Servia.

The assignment of a third of the revenue of the Provinces to Imperial purposes was a principle to which the Porte could not agree, and the decision had been come to by those who could not possibly be in possession of information required for correct appreciation of the question.

There was, however, in the proposals much that was most important and practical, to which he could have no hesitation in adhering.

On the other hand, there was no Turk who would consent to guarantees required.

War might be the ruin of the Empire, but all were unanimous in preferring honourable ruin to a dishonourable acceptance of arrangements which they considered equally fatal.

Turkish Minister at Brussels reported that the Belgian Government would not send troops except upon the invitation of the Porte, which would never be given at the dictation of foreign Powers.

At the same time he was ready and willing to engage foreigners, both officers and men, to organise an efficient police force; but this must be done by the Porte and on its own initiative.

To a Commission of Control, such as proposed, he would never consent, but he was ready to give another effectual guarantee for the execution of the reforms.

Let a year be granted in order that they may be put into operation, and at the end of that time let the Ambassadors report whether they had been fairly carried out or not.

If they report in the negative he will submit to the appointment of an International Commission, or such other control as is thought desirable.

His Highness perfectly understands that he has no assistance to expect from Great Britain, but he trusts that Her Majesty's Government will give no support to Russia in an attempt to carry out by force her long-cherished designs against the Turkish Empire.

No. 457.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

(Secret.) *Berlin, December* 29, 1876.

AUSTRIAN Ambassador's journey to Vienna is thought to be connected with a secret inquiry from Count Andrassy as to whether Austria could reckon on German support in the event of a quarrel with Russia about Turkey.

I cannot vouch for the truth of this report.

No. 458.

Memorandum communicated by M. Gennadius, December 29, 1876.

AU moment où les Représentants des Grandes Puissances se trouvent réunis à Constantinople, à l'effet d'améliorer le sort des populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes croit de son devoir d'appeler leur attention sur la situation des sujets Grecs de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Cependant, nous tenons beaucoup à le constater dès le début, cette démarche ne doit pas être attribuée à la prétention d'exercer, comme on nous l'a souvent reproché à tort, un Protectorat sur les Grecs de la Turquie, mais à la nécessité où nous nous trouvons de prévenir à temps le contre-coup des troubles de toute nature qui pourraient agiter les populations Grecques de l'Empire Ottoman. L'histoire de ces derniers temps ne fournirait que trop d'exemples à l'appui de cette assertion.

D'un autre côté, on ne saurait oublier non plus qu'en élevant la voix en faveur de ses frères de race et de religion, la Grèce paye en même temps une dette sacrée de reconnaissance aux Provinces Grecques soumises au Gouvernement Ottoman, qui, toutes, ont pris part à la longue lutte à laquelle elle doit, non moins qu'à la bienveillance et à la justice de l'Europe, son indépendance et sa liberté.

C'est cette justice et cette bienveillance que la Grèce implore de nouveau à cette heure solennelle en faveur des pays Grecs restés sous la domination de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Si l'on admet, comme la Sublime Porte elle-même semble le reconnaître par son zèle à introduire des réformes radicales dans son administration, que l'insurrection des

Provinces du Nord de l'Empire a été provoquée par le régime en vigueur et les malheurs et les abus qu'il entraîne forcément, il serait oiseux de s'attacher à démontrer que ces malheurs et ces abus frappent également toutes les Provinces de l'Empire Ottoman et qu'ils pèsent même d'un poids plus lourd sur les populations Grecques, que l'état de civilisation plus avancée où elles se trouvent rend plus sensibles aux maux des races déshéritées.

Nous ne saurions nier, il est vrai, que ces mêmes populations Grecques ne se soient abstenues de protester les armes à la main durant la crise actuelle; mais cette attitude, qui contraste si fort avec leurs antécédents, n'a pas besoin d'être expliquée aux Grandes Puissances, qui en connaissent mieux que personne la vraie et seule cause.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes avait le devoir de conformer, pour tout ce qui concerne les Grecs de Turquie, sa conduite à celle des Grandes Puissances, qui avaient manifesté le désir de maintenir la paix en Orient ou tout au moins de localiser l'insurrection. C'est ainsi seulement qu'une conflagration générale a pu être évitée.

L'esprit de haute justice qui anime les Gouvernements des Grandes Puissances et leurs Représentants dans la Conférence, ne saurait donc leur permettre de tirer de cette conduite, ainsi imposée, un argument pour laisser les Grecs dans une situation moins avantageuse que celle qu'on accorderait à d'autres populations.

Il ne faudrait pas non plus perdre de vue que si nos conseils ont pu être suivi par les Grecs sujets de la Sublime Porte c'est que, comme nous, ils avaient la ferme conviction que si l'Europe, persuadée de l'inefficacité des réformes promulguées jusqu'ici par le Gouvernement Ottoman, se décidait à intervenir encore une fois, elle prendrait des mesures générales envers tous les Chrétiens indistinctement, ainsi que cela a été soutenu dans d'autres circonstances par la diplomatie Européenne. D'ailleurs, la Sublime Porte elle-même vient reconnaître, semblerait-il, qu'il est aussi équitable que nécessaire d'établir une égalité parfaite de droits entre tous ses sujets Chrétiens.

Aussi, cette haute assemblée irait elle-même à l'encontre du double but qu'elle poursuit, c'est-à-dire, du but humanitaire et du but politique, en négligeant l'élément Grec ou en méconnaissant à son détriment et de quelque manière que ce fut, le droit historique et les nécessités géographiques, en dehors desquels tout ne serait que trouble et confusion pour l'avenir dans la presqu'île des Balkans.

C'est donc au nom de la justice aussi bien que dans le but d'éloigner les dangers qu'un pareil abandon des intérêts des Grecs sujets Ottomans ne manquerait pas de faire surgir que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes fait appel à la haute sagesse des Gouvernements représentés à la Conférence de Constantinople.

Ils ne tarderont pas à se convaincre que des considérations de l'ordre le plus élevé justifient pleinement sa démarche, et que c'est dans l'intention de co-opérer à l'œuvre de pacification entreprise par les Cabinets Européens qu'il prend la liberté de leur soumettre ces observations.

Les Grandes Puissances ne sauraient mieux assurer l'accomplissement de leur noble mission qu'en étendant à tous les Chrétiens et particulièrement à ceux de race Grecque, les mesures qu'elles concilieraient dans leur justice et dans leur prévoyance, à la Sublime Porte, pour rendre le calme et la prospérité aux Provinces récemment insurgés de l'Empire Ottoman.

No. 459.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Stuart.

(No. 111.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 29, 1876.*

THE Greek Chargé d'Affaires called upon me this afternoon by appointment and left with me the memorandum of which I inclose a copy.*

M. Gennadius said that the Greek nation could not but regard with great apprehension any attempt to increase the Slave Provinces of Turkey at the expense of the neighbouring Greek Provinces. They would consider an extension of the Slav Provinces to the south of the Balkans as a severe blow to the interests of the Greek race. He went on to say that the Greeks formed the most important element of the population of European Turkey, and were those who harmonised best with the Turks, that there were Greeks scattered in large proportions throughout the whole Ottoman dominions, forming everywhere thriving and industrious communities, and that, on the other hand, there was a considerable Turkish population living peacefully and contentedly within the kingdom of Greece. On these grounds the Greeks felt strongly that their case

* See No. 458.

deserved the sympathy and attention of Europe as much, if not more than that of the Slavs. M. Gennadius added that they would, as a body, feel better disposed towards the continuance of Turkish rule than to any preponderance or domination of the Slav races.

I told M. Gennadius that I thought the arguments he had used on this and on previous occasions went far to show the expediency of extending, as far as possible, to the whole of European Turkey any reforms agreed upon for the administration of the disturbed Provinces. I added that if the European Powers had confined themselves to considering the case of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, this was not because no interest was felt in the good government and welfare of other subjects of the Sultan, but because the speedy pacification and settlement of the Provinces in question seemed essential to the preservation of European peace, and it was undesirable to add to the complexity of the problem by introducing other elements into the discussion.

In conclusion, I promised that Her Majesty's Government would bear in mind the considerations which had been brought before them by the Greek Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 460.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 30.)

(No. 295. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Athens, December 16, 1876.*

M. COUMOUNDOUROS called upon me on Friday in order to warn me, as he said, that in the event of a war between Russia and Turkey, the Hellenic Government would no longer be able to prevent an outbreak amongst the Hellenic populations in European Turkey and in Crete, unless he was authorised to assure them that England would take their interests under her protection, and secure for them the same privileges as for the Slavonic provinces and populations.

The manner in which M. Coumoundouros made this communication to me, as well as certain other circumstances, led me to suspect at the time that it might be his purpose, on returning to office, to foment or give the signal for such an outbreak as that to which he alluded.

I, therefore, told him that I hoped he did not mean to notify to me any change of policy on the part of the Hellenic Government that, as far as I could ascertain, there was no desire in this country to engage in war or to excite insurrection in the Hellenic provinces, and that the latter would not be disposed to rise, unless they met with encouragement and assistance from the Hellenic Government.

M. Coumoundouros declared to me that he would continue to exert his influence in favour of the maintenance of tranquillity; but that events might be too strong for the control of the Hellenic Government, and that he thought it his duty to warn me of this. He went on to say that Greece had lost much of her prestige and influence amongst the Greeks in Turkey, by the pacific attitude which she had observed in conformity with the advice and wishes of England and of the other Powers, and that her position would become very painful and critical if her policy was to result in causing the Hellenic race to be placed on an inferior footing to that of their Slavonic neighbours.

Such a result would naturally be disappointing and humiliating to Greece; and I could only say that as England and, I believed, all the other Powers, with the exception, perhaps, of Russia, were anxious that the same privileges which might be obtained for the Slavs should be extended to the other Christian populations, I trusted that his fears on that point would prove groundless.

On the other hand, I spoke to M. Coumoundouros of the folly of engaging in war in the present helpless condition of Greece, and of the powerlessness of Russia to be of any service to her, explaining to him also that if Russia invaded Turkey, she would probably enter into an engagement with the other Powers to refrain from any annexation of territory, so that in that case the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire would still be maintained.

I further told him that I could not undertake to say what steps Her Majesty's Government might take in the event of Greece engaging in war or promoting insurrection in opposition to their wishes.

M. Coumoundouros strongly repudiated the idea of Greece or of any Greeks being now ready to consent to act in furtherance of Russian or Slavonic interests, and stated

that they all well knew that they could gain nothing without the consent and assistance of England, to which Power Greece was already indebted for her independence, for the Ionian Islands, and for her King; and that it was a necessity, as well as the wish of the Hellenic Government, to act entirely in accordance with the advice and wishes of England.

I repeated to him, when he was leaving me, that I should consider the Hellenic Government responsible for any rising which might occur in the Hellenic Provinces or in Crete; and he repeated to me that all that was required to prevent such an event was a promise of the protection of England, which he would, of course, understand to be conditional upon the policy of Greece continuing to be guided by that of England.

On the following day M. Contostavlos paid me a visit, with a telegram in his hand, which he had received from the Hellenic Legation at Vienna, stating that it was rumoured in that capital that General Ignatiew had defined Bulgaria to some of the other Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople as extending as far as Salonica to the south, and that an attempt would probably be made to obtain the recognition of that pretension by the Conference.

M. Contostavlos evinced great alarm in contemplating the injury which might thus be inflicted upon Hellenic interests, and he begged me most earnestly to solicit the intervention of Her Majesty's Government and of the British Plenipotentiaries at the Conference with a view to prevent such an injustice, and to support the claims of the Hellenic race to share upon equal terms whatever rights and privileges were about to be accorded to the Slav populations.

My present impression is that M. Coumoundouros' communication to me was made with the idea, which he carried out somewhat clumsily, of intimidating me by the prospect of an insurrection into obtaining the direct protection of Her Majesty's Government, in consequence of the alarm which is seriously felt by the Hellenic Government lest the claims of the Greek Provinces should be set aside or not pressed to a favourable solution by the Conference, and lest in that case Greece should be denounced by the rest of the Hellenic race as having betrayed her mission and their confidence. The question would then become dangerous internally no less than externally.

M. Contostavlos did not fail to assure me very positively, as the Prime Minister had done, that there was no intention on the part of the Hellenic Government to abandon their present pacific attitude.

When I called upon him this afternoon and informed him that I had reported that assurance to your Lordship, he requested me to add that it was based upon the idea of obtaining English protection for Hellenic interests, as it would be necessary to show that Greece had not remained passive from indifference to the wants and aspirations of Hellenism, but from having sufficient grounds for believing that the same object would be better secured through the assistance and good-will of one or more of the Great Powers, and especially of England, whose advice she had on that account felt obliged to follow.

Your Lordship will gather from the above that the Hellenic Government are most anxious to obtain the protection of Her Majesty's Government in the present state of the Eastern question, and that they promise in return to shape their policy in accordance with the views of Her Majesty's Government.

If the Conference, however, does not result in placing the Hellenic provinces in an equally favourable position with the neighbouring Slav Provinces, the Hellenic Government will attribute the blame to England and the other Powers, whose advice they had considered it incumbent upon themselves to follow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 461.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 30.)

(No. 296. Secret and Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, December* 18, 1876.

ONE of the reasons to which I alluded in my immediately preceding despatch as having led me, in the first instance, to suspect that M. Coumoundouros might have determined to give the signal for an outbreak in the Hellenic Provinces of Turkey, was that a Greek Deputy, who had just left me, had informed me that during the recent

Ministerial crisis M. Sabouroff had been much with M. Coumoundouros and had been very active in his endeavours to bring about the return of that politician to power.

Another reason was that M. Coumoundouros spoke to me approvingly of Mr. Gladstone's recent article entitled "The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem," which has been translated into Greek in M. Tricoupi's journal, and which, whilst highly favourable to the Greeks in most respects, almost reproaches them for not having yet taken part in the present struggle.

I, therefore, thought it a proper precaution to take the liberty of at once informing the King, through his private Secretary, of M. Coumoundouros' visit to me, and of the suspicions which it had aroused in my mind.

Later in the afternoon, the King had the kindness to send M. Kalinsky to tell me that he had thought seriously over the matter, and that although M. Coumoundouros' visit and language to me might appear strange, His Majesty could not believe that more was intended than to endeavour to procure the protection of England for Hellenic interests in a more direct manner than heretofore. M. Coumoundouros had, only the day before, when conversing with His Majesty about the position of the Hellenic Government, and the necessity of acting in accordance with the policy of England, adverted to the fact that Russia was perfectly powerless to protect Greece from attack, not having any longer a single ship left in the Mediterranean.

M. Kalinsky mentioned, as another proof that, however friendly might be the relations of M. Coumoundouros with my Russian colleague, the influence of the latter was not likely to have an injurious effect upon the policy of the former; that, although M. Sabouroff had complained of the too-undisguised Anti-Slav feelings of M. Contostavlos, with a view to the substitution of some one else as Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Coumoundouros had not taken the hint into account when he reconstructed his Cabinet.

M. Contostavlos had himself told me, some time ago, that M. Sabouroff seldom came to him, and transacted most of his business with M. Coumoundouros.

Under the above circumstances M. Kalinsky said that the King was convinced that his Prime Minister did not contemplate any change of policy, and that His Majesty would at any rate take care that there should be no change.

M. Kalinsky further said that, in His Majesty's opinion, there seemed to be little danger of an outbreak amongst the Hellenic populations, even at the commencement of a war between Russia and Turkey, until such a war became more general, in which case Greece, from necessity as well as from inclination, would be guided by the advice, and follow the policy of Great Britain: that at the same time His Majesty hoped that Her Majesty's Government would not be unmindful of the claims and interests of Hellenism at the Conference, believing as he did, that the gratitude and friendship of Greece, and of the rest of the Hellenic race might, sooner or later, be of material service to Great Britain.

Your Lordship is aware that the King had, on a former occasion, expressed himself to me in much the same sense.

When M. Contostavlos called upon me on the following day, I understood from him that he did so at the King's desire, and that His Majesty had been talking both to him and to M. Coumoundouros about the visit which the latter had paid to me, and about the policy of the Hellenic Government.

I presumed that M. Coumoundouros had given an account of his interview with me to the King, and that His Majesty might not have informed his Minister that he had already heard of it from me.

In the course of my conversation with M. Kalinsky, he stated that although Russian agents, well supplied with money, had been busily engaged in exciting the Cretans to revolt, their efforts had signally failed, and that it was believed that similar efforts in other Hellenic provinces had resulted in similar failure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 462.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 30.)

(No. 297.)
My Lord, *Athens, December* 19, 1876.

AS M. Coumoundouros and M. Contostavlos had been pressing me with so much urgency to obtain the special protection of Her Majesty's Government for Greece and for

the interests of Hellénism in Turkey, I mentioned to the latter Minister, when calling upon him yesterday, that I understood that the Hellenic Government had in the first instance requested the Italian Government to take the initiative at the Conference in proposing that the same privileges should be granted to the Greek as to the Slavonic populations.

A statement to this effect had been made by M. Melegari to Sir Augustus Paget, a copy of whose despatch upon the subject (No. 445 of the 20th ultimo) was forwarded to me by your Lordship in your despatch No. 107 of the 7th instant.

M. Contostavlos, whilst admitting to me that the answer of the Italian Government had been such as that described by Sir A. Paget, assured me that the Hellenic Government had never asked the Italian Government to take the initiative in the matter, and that the application to that Government had in no respect differed from the similar applications which had been made to the other Great Powers to support the interests of the Greek populations at the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 463.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 30.)

(No. 298. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, December 20, 1876.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 282, Confidential, of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Contostavlos decided to draw up a Memorandum or representation on behalf of the Hellenic populations of Turkey, and that he sent the same to the Hellenic Minister at Constantinople for delivery to the several members of the Conference.

When I called upon him on Monday at the Foreign Office, he told me that he had been on the point of coming to see me, as he found that the Memorandum in question, about which he had not before spoken to me, had, whether from its length or for other reasons, not been considered suitable for its purpose, and he had therefore drawn up another, with respect to which he wished to consult me in the strictest confidence before transmitting it to Constantinople.

He then produced his memorandum, and proceeded to read it to me, requesting me to suggest any amendments to it which might occur to me.

Like most of M. Contostavlos' political utterances and writings this Memorandum appeared to me to be rather characterized by the warmth and earnestness of the author than by tact and consideration for the feelings of the Turkish Government, except in so far as it certainly disclaimed the right to interfere officially in the name of the Hellenic subjects of the Porte, and justified the present proceeding by the ties and sympathy by which the Hellenic Government were bound to the rest of the Hellenic race.

I saw, however, that M. Contostavlos firmly believed that he had steered clear of every temptation to insert anything of an offensive nature, and that it would scarcely do for me to propose any radical alterations without offering to remodel the whole memorandum, for which he would not have been prepared, even if I had been willing to undertake the responsibility of such a task.

I therefore contented myself with suggesting to him the omission of part of a sentence which appeared to me calculated to give needless offence to the Porte, and the insertion of some complimentary paragraph to the effect that the Hellenic Government were convinced that the Porte would itself be desirous of extending the same privileges to the Hellenic populations which it might accord to the Slavonic Provinces of the Empire.

But the most important suggestion which I ventured to make, and which, if carried out, would render the others unnecessary, was that full latitude should be given to M. Condouriotis to modify the document in any way which he might think fit, after consultation with one or more of the Plenipotentiaries, or with other friends.

From M. Contostavlos' manner, I think it probable that M. Condouriotis may have been the cause of the withdrawal of the original Memorandum, as my suggestion did not appear to be received with much satisfaction.

When thanking me for my advice, M. Contostavlos repeated his request, that I would observe strict secrecy with respect to his having consulted me in the matter, and to my having seen the Memorandum, as it had not been shown to any of my colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 464.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 30.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 29 Décembre, 1876.*

IL a été décidé dans la seconde séance de la Conférence de prolonger l'armistice jusqu'au 1er Mars, nouveau style.

No. 465.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 30.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, December 30, 1876.*

I HAVE ascertained from a confidential source that Count Andrassy expressed at the Council of the 28th instant a hope that war between Russia and Turkey would be avoided, and that it was therefore decided that no steps should be taken for the present with a view to the occupation of Turkish territory. His Excellency has since confirmed this information, assuring me that the report of the expediency of a loan having been considered at the Council is untrue; and by declaring that not a man will be added to the army, nor a shilling expended to prepare for intervention or war till circumstances arise clearly affecting the interests of the Empire.

No. 466.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 30, 1876.*

AS your Lordship's telegram of yesterday* appeared to be an answer to Count Andrassy's questions respecting the signature of such a Protocol as it alludes to, I have acquainted his Excellency with its substance, with which he has expressed much satisfaction, as he entirely concurs with the view which Her Majesty's Government take of the subject.

No. 467.

The Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 642.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 30, 1876.*

HER Majesty's Consul at Taganrog has forwarded to me a copy of a despatch which he addressed to your Excellency on the 8th instant, with reference to the liability of British subjects to supply horses for military service in Russia.

I should be glad to hear from your Excellency whether you have received any reply from M. de Giers to the representation which you made to him upon the subject as reported in your despatch No. 580 of the 6th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 468.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 30, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, December 30, 1876, 5 P.M.*

INTELLIGENCE of the prolongation of the armistice to 1st of March at the initiative of the Porte received this morning from General Ignatiew has given much satisfaction here.

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* The telegram referred to is one repeating a telegram from Lord Salisbury on the subject of the Protocol.

No. 469.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 31.*)

(No. 1362.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 15, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of an address which the Greek Synod and the Permanent National Council have requested the Œcumenical Patriarch to present to the Porte against the concession of special privileges to the Slav provinces.

The necessity of resisting anything of the kind appears to be becoming daily stronger among the Mussulmans, and to be participated in by the Turkish Ministers.

I am informed that, at a late Council, one of them declared that, although a war with Russia would be attended by immense danger to the Empire, by consenting to a special administration of the Slav provinces, they would be taking a slow but certain poison; and, of the two alternatives, they should not hesitate to adopt the first.

The sentiment was unanimously approved by the whole of his colleagues, and, unless I am misinformed, it represents the feeling of the entire nation, both Mussulman and Christian.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 469.

Extract from "La Turquie" of December 15, 1876.

EN parlant dans un de nos précédents numéros de l'assemblée générale tenue Dimanche dernier au Patriarcat du Phanar, nous avons dit que le Saint Synode et le conseil mixte ont rédigé et signé, séance tenante, un *mazbata* au sujet de la question des priviléges qu'il est question d'accorder aux Chrétiens de race Slave, au préjudice de la nation Grecque.

Voici la traduction du document que les deux corps représentant à Constantinople la nation Grecque ont signé dans leur réunion de Dimanche:—

"Notre Très-Saint Père.

"Les deux corps, le Saint Synode et le Conseil National Permanent Mixte, réunis autour de votre Sainteté, prenant en sérieuse considération les bruits qui depuis quelque temps circulent en Turquie et en Europe relativement aux priviléges et autres avantages politiques à accorder aux provinces insurgées, à l'exclusion des autres peuples soumis au sceptre impérial; considérant que des soi-disants Délégués de la nation Bulgare parcourent l'Europe en cherchant à faire violer, contrairement à la justice et à la vérité scientifique, des limites géographiques consacrées de temps immémorial par l'histoire et par toute théorie ethnographique; que ces Délégués cherchent à étendre les limites de la Bulgarie en deçà de l'Œmos et à les élargir de la manière la plus étrange, jusqu'à la Thrace et à la Macédoine, en les avançant ainsi à leur profit exclusif;

"Prenant en considération tout ce qui précède, le Saint Synode et le Conseil National Permanent Mixte, réunis aujourd'hui en votre présence, osent supplier votre Sainteté de vouloir bien représenter, auprès de la Sublime Porte, l'injustice qui est faite en ces deux questions, à notre nation, laquelle est en droit d'espérer une solution contraire, non seulement en raison de sa supériorité numérique, mais aussi à cause de son respect pour la paix et surtout dans ces circonstances critiques que traverse l'Empire.

"Veuillez, Très-Saint Père, communiquer nos justes représentations au Gouvernement Impérial, afin que, dans ses intentions équitables, il ne souffre nucunement des exceptions et des distinctions entre des nationalités soumises au même Gouvernement, nationalités qui peuvent troubler l'avenir, et qu'il veuille étendre ces réformes bienfaisantes sur tous les sujets de Sa Majesté, sans distinction de race et de nationalité."

Le Patriarche Œcuménique a remis officiellement ce document à la Sublime Porte.

No. 470.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December 31.*)

(No. 1363.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 15, 1876.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a document which I have received from the Porte recording the impression produced on the Council of Ministers by Messrs. Baring and Schuyler's reports on the late occurrences in Bulgaria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 470.

Memorandum recording the Impression produced on Council of Ministers by Reports of Messrs. Baring and Schuyler on Bulgaria.

LE Conseil prend connaissance du Rapport de Mr. Baring. La simple lecture de ce document établit suffisamment l'esprit impartial qui a présidé à sa rédaction. On y remarque certaines inexactitudes et exagérations, résultat inévitable du caractère incomplet de l'enquête. Mais Mr. Baring n'aurait pu mieux faire; étant donnée la gravité des circonstances, il lui eût été difficile d'obtenir en si peu de temps de plus amples informations.

Etranger aux principes religieux comme aux mœurs et au caractère du peuple, Mr. Baring puisait principalement ses nouvelles à des sources passionnées. Il était dès lors naturel qu'il fut induit en erreur à certains égards.

L'auteur du rapport présente comme des faits positifs les attentats en plus d'un endroit qui auraient été commis à la pudeur des femmes. Or chaque société renferme dans son sein des gens capables de ces sortes de crimes; il est possible que pendant l'insurrection des cas individuels analogues se soient produits parmi les Musulmans; mais quiconque connait les principes religieux, les mœurs et le caractère de l'Islam sera aisément convaincu que la personne des femmes qui tombent entre les mains d'une société Musulmane est et demeure inviolable. Témoin le récit que Mr. Baring a fait lui-même de l'aventure d'une jeune fille nommée Rayeobobova.

Dans la partie du rapport qui traite de la destruction d'Otlukkeuy, on lit le passage suivant:—

"Il n'y a pas de doute, qu'une foule de femmes n'aient été enlevées et séquestrées; mais il est difficile de constater les crimes de cette nature, vu le refus des notables du pays de fournir des informations à cet égard."

Si Mr. Baring savait combien l'Islamisme condamne l'outrage commis à la pudeur d'une femme honnête, il n'aurait garde d'avancer une opinion erronée d'une manière si catégorique.

Quoiqu'il en soit les faits avancés dans un document écrit dans un esprit si impartial rendent nécessaire l'institution immédiate d'une enquête rigoureuse.

Quant au Rapport de Mr. Schuyler, Secrétaire de la Légation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique à Constantinople, nous en avons également pris connaissance. Rédigé uniquement, comme on le voit au premier coup d'œil, sur la foi des affirmations des gens mal intentionnés, ce document ne mentionne nulle part combien les Musulmans ont été maltraités au début de l'insurrection.

Il est positif que dans cette période du mouvement des enfants Musulmans ont été brûlés vifs. De pareils actes de sauvagerie ne sauraient être mis, à notre avis, pas même à la charge des Bulgares qui vivent en commun avec les Musulmans depuis tant d'années. Ils n'ont pu être consommés que sous la contrainte des hommes pervers et impitoyables envoyés par les comités, et il n'y a guère à s'étonner s'ils ont amené les Musulmans des villages voisins à s'armer pour leur défense et à user d'une répression rigoureuse jusqu'à l'arrivée des troupes. On est en droit d'affirmer que les Musulmans n'ont pas poussé ni ne pouvaient pousser la vengeance jusqu'à brûler vif quelques Bulgares; le Musulman peut se rendre coupable de meurtre, mais il ne saurait se livrer au crime que Mr. Schuyler voudrait lui imputer sans renier tout d'abord ses idées religieuses. Ceux qui ont passé quelque temps dans un pays Musulman et étudié les mœurs, les principes, et le caractère du peuple, n'hésiteront pas à reconnaître et à confirmer cette vérité.

Pour ce qui est des attentats commis à la pudeur des femmes nous avons exprimé

plus haut notre pensée sur ce point, en parlant du Rapport de Mr. Baring. Les mêmes considérations s'appliquent aux allégations de Mr. Schuyler: lorsqu'une femme vient à tomber entre les mains d'une société Musulmane, celle-ci ne saurait, en quelque état anarchique qu'elle se trouvât, ne pas s'élever contre celui de ses membres qui voudrait violer le dépôt qui est confié à l'honneur de tous.

Mais dans le Rapport de Mr. Schuyler on lit le passage suivant :—

"Les auteurs de ces actes barbares appartiennent pour la plus part à l'armée régulière commandée par Hafiz Pacha."

Ces paroles ne méritent pas même d'être relevées. Tous ceux qui ont une idée de ce qu'on appelle troupes régulières et de la discipline rigoureuse qui règne dans l'armée Impériale n'hésiteront pas à reconnaître que c'est là une calomnie contraire à la raison et au bon sens.

Sublime Porte, le 12 *Décembre*, 1876.

No. 471.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 1364.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 15, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a report from Mr. Baring upon the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry at Philippopoli. I have made the strongest representations to Midhat and Safvet Pashas upon the conduct of Ismail Bey in placing obstructions in the way of the conclusion of the trial of Achmet Agha, which, after his recent visit to Constantinople for the purpose of receiving instructions, must have been in open defiance of the wishes of the Imperial Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P.S. *December* 20.—I also inclose a further report from Mr. Baring respecting the progress of the Batak trial.

H. E.

Inclosure 1 in No. 471.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Philippopolis, December* 11, 1876.

IN my despatch of the 4th instant I informed your Excellency that the public trial of Achmet Agha and other persons connected with the Batak massacre would commence on the 7th instant; since then it has, however, twice been postponed, in the first instance till Saturday, the 9th instant, and subsequently till to-day.

Ismail Bey, who returned here on the 7th instant, lost no time in raising every species of difficulty, and in endeavouring to destroy the good that had been done in his absence.

He first informed the Commission that it had no power to try Achmet Agha, as being a military man he could demand a court-martial.

This, he said, was going to be the plea set up by Ali Effendi, the counsel for the defence; but I have no hesitation in saying that the idea did not originate with that individual.

Eventually Sadoullah Bey decided to telegraph to the Porte to ask that Achmet Agha's name might be erased from the Turkish army list.

Ismail Bey's second proposition was to the effect that the accused persons should have the right of recalling any or all of the witnesses. The point was argued at great length and with considerable warmth, Sadoullah Bey and other members opposing it strongly, and the proposition was eventually rejected, the Commission reserving to itself the right of recalling any witness, if during the course of the trial it should appear desirable to clear up any particular point.

At first sight this decision seems harsh and unfair to the prisoners, but in reality it is not so, as during the course of the examinations the witnesses were invariably confronted with the persons whom their evidence affected. Moreover, the peculiar circumstance of

the case must be taken into consideration. If the Bulgarian witnesses were recalled and examined in public there cannot be the smallest doubt that they would all be intimidated, and would probably deny everything they had said before.

An immense amount of time would also be lost, and instead of the Commission having really done something while the Conference was sitting it would, in all probability, be still taking evidence about the Batak massacre some six months hence.

The Counsel for the defence must naturally see that he has a bad case in hand, and simply in order to gain time he would insist upon every witness being recalled and re-examined, and in some instances men would have to be brought from Novrokop, which at this time of the year is a journey of five days.

As, therefore, I considered that important issues depended upon the rejection of this proposition, I opposed it as strongly as I possibly could, and told Ismail Bey that I regretted extremely that he should have thought fit to bring forward a proposal, the effect of which would be to render nugatory the labours on which the Commission have been engaged for the last two months.

I am now glad to say that Ismail Bey has left for Slimnia with Abro Effendi to inquire into Shevket Pasha's conduct at Boyadjikeui, so that the Commission is, for the present, rid of a member whose sole endeavour it is to shield the guilty from the punishment they deserve.

This morning the public trial commenced; but, as no answer had been received from the Porte about Achmet Agha, it was decided that the case of Achmet Tchaousch, of Karaboulak, should be tried first.

After the reading of the necessary documents, Ali Effendi commenced his speech for the defence. He dwelt upon the serious nature of the insurrection at Batak, which threatened all the loyal subjects of the Sultan alike, and declared that excesses committed in its suppression could not be considered as crimes.

The charge upon which it is sought to convict the prisoner is that he caused to be massacred some 250 of the inhabitants of Batak, who were delivered over to him after the village had been pretty well all burnt and pillaged. He was the chief of a considerable band of Bashi-Bazouks, and may be, perhaps, looked upon in some way as Achmet Agha's lieutenant.

Unfortunately, in the copy of the summary which was given to Ali Effendi, by the omission of a single word, it was made to appear that these 250 people were handed over to one Bashi-Bazouk! Ali Effendi consequently asked how it was possible that a single individual could slaughter so many people. The original document was referred to and the mistake discovered, upon which Ali Effendi declared that he could not accept his copy, as it was incorrect, and that he must examine the depositions. The Commission was obliged to accept his demand, and the trial was postponed till Wednesday, the 13th instant.

Two deaths under suspicious circumstances occurred some days ago at Peroustitza, and the official "Mazbata" sent to the Commission not being satisfactory, I induced Sadoullah Bey to send an official to the village to make an inquiry. As I was unable to leave myself, I requested Mr. Calvert to take my place, and he will report fully on the subject to your Excellency.

Whatever may be the result of the inquiry, I fear these deaths will have an extremely bad effect upon the villagers, who will now be more afraid than ever of giving evidence which might lead to the arrest of a Turk. And this circumstance more than anything else led me to make a strong opposition to Ismail Bey's proposal which I have mentioned above.

I regret to have to report several deeds of violence. The other day an old man came to the Commission with a severe wound in the wrist, inflicted by a zaptieh at Pakaika, a place some five hours from Tatar Bazardjik. This guardian of the public peace stole the old man's cat, and when the latter came to claim it back, cut him down with his sword. The Bulgarian went to Bazardjik to complain, but was driven away from the Konak by the zaptiehs. The Commission ordered the arrest of the delinquent, who will be tried here.

At Ayvadjik, in the Caza of Philippopoli, some Turks entered the house of a Bulgarian and stole 3,000 piastres.

A Bulgarian peasant has been found murdered on the road between this place and Bazardjik.

Mr. Stoney, who returned some days ago from a tour through some of the villages, tells me that, up to the 1st instant, at Zindjirli, 102 houses had been finished by the authorities out of 117. In this village the officials employed by the Commission have done their duty well.

At Tcheumlek Yenikeui the Government had finished 37 houses and begun 47, while the villagers on their own account constructed 31.

At Krastovo the Government had finished 20 houses and begun 9, while the villagers had built 7.

At Striidja only about 20 houses had been finished out of 282 burnt, and great misery prevailed there.

At Leshnik 53 houses had been constructed, and at Ouzoun-Gheren 59, up to the 23rd ultimo.

Mr. Clarke informs me that, up to the 18th ultimo, 70 houses were finished at Batak, 87 were inhabited but not completed, 52 only had the rafters on, and the walls of 26 others had been run up.

In all this building work so much depends upon the character of the individual employed by the Commission as overseer. At Zindjirli the officials are energetic and the work is progressing rapidly: at Klissoura, on the contrary, the overseer is an obstinate fanatical Turk, and consequently next to nothing has been done.

Hamdi Bey has resigned his seat in the Commission and left for Constantinople this morning; he is replaced by Pertew Effendi.

I had hoped that by this time some more of the Bulgarian prisoners would have been set at liberty, but I am sorry to say such has not been the case, and I am now told that the Commission has been obliged to refer the matter to the Porte for decision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WALTER BARING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 471.

Mr. Baring to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Philippopolis, December* 15, 1876.

THE second public trial of the prisoners implicated in the Batak affair was held yesterday, all of them being brought up except Achmet Tchaoush, of Dorkovo, who was ill at the time.

At the commencement of the sitting, the President informed the counsel for the defence that the Porte had decided that Achmet Agha should be tried by the Commission, and not by court-martial.

The summary of the cases of all the five prisoners was then read.

Ali Effendi, the counsel for the defence, then asked whether all the witnesses had been sworn, saying that he thought that, in many cases, the formality had been neglected. He cited the depositions of Kouroujon Selim, the Albanian guard of Batak, and said that, when he was sworn, he had spoken in favour of Achmet Agha, and against him when he was not sworn; the evidence could not, therefore, be relied upon.

The depositions were referred to and it was seen that Selim had been sworn.

Achmet Agha, on being asked if he had anything to say, made a long address, which was chiefly a defence, not of himself, but of his son, Mollah Ali, who is unfortunately not in custody. It has been stated by several witnesses, that Kavluk Angel, and other Tchorbajis, went to Mollah Ali, and told him the people were willing to give up their arms, and that Achmet Agha, on hearing this, came to the place where his son was.

This Achmet denies, stating that his son had left before the fighting began. He also denied that the arms had been given up, saying that the forty or fifty guns, &c., which had been handed over to the authorities had been taken from the dead. He denied the charges of pillaging, and that he had distributed the stolen cattle. This last fact is proved by a letter found on Alish Pehlivan, who, however, of course, stoutly denies its accuracy.

At this point Ali Effendi, being called upon to go on with the defence of Achmet Agha, replied that he was not prepared to do so, as he had imagined that the case of Achmet Tchaoush of Kara Boulak would be taken first, and he asked for two days' more time for each prisoner.

This application the Commission very properly refused, as more than a week ago Ali Effendi himself said that he was ready with his defence. Subsequently, however, as it was getting late, he was told that there would be no sitting to-day (Friday), and that he must be ready by to-morrow morning.

The zaptieh mentioned in my despatch of the 11th instant, as having wounded a man at Palanka, was arrested and sent to Bazardjik, but managed to escape. A telegram, however, received to-day by Sadoullah Bey, states that he has been recaptured.

The greater portion of to-day was occupied in examining Mehemet Agha, of Nevrokop,

who is supposed to be implicated in the Batak affair, though he himself declares that he only brought some ammunition to the outskirts of the village, and then left immediately. He was confronted with Achmet Agha, but nothing of any great importance was elicited.

I may here cite an instance to show how difficult it is for the Commission to get criminals arrested, and how disgracefully the officers of zaptiehs perform their duties.

The arrest of a man named Fetha Pehlivan of Nevrokop had been ordered, and the Yuzbashi of that place, having found him, put him under the charge of a wretched old Arab zaptieh, never even taking the precaution of disarming him, the natural consequence being that he soon parted company from his guard, who was in a mortal terror of him.

The man bears an extremely bad character, and is, moreover, a fugitive of conscription, both of which facts were perfectly well-known to the Yuzbashi, and one is rather at a loss to know whether he wished to connive at Fetha's escape, or whether he only displayed that utter negligence which is so often the characteristic of Turks.

(Signed) W. BARING.

No. 472.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 1365. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 15, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a confidential report of Mr. Sandison's of an overture made by General Ignatiew to Midhat Pasha.

General Ignatiew has hitherto been so openly hostile to his Highness, who has cordially reciprocated the sentiment, that this offer of friendship appears to indicate his expectation of Midhat Pasha's speedy appointment to the Grand Vizierate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 472.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 15, 1876.

GENERAL IGNATIEW sent for a person who enjoys Midhat Pasha's confidence, and expressed to him his regret at seeing his Highness under the false impression that he (General Ignatiew) was generally hostile to him. In presence of his Highness' strong English sympathies, it was naturally difficult to convince him of the friendly feelings of the General towards himself and country. Nevertheless, it was time that he (the General) should repudiate the accusations that were being constantly laid to his charge; and he would consequently begin by assuring his Highness that, having had nothing to do with the notion of autonomy, which had purely originated with the English, he was still less to blame for the proposals now made at the preliminary Conferences in regard to occupation and the disarming of the Mahommedan population in Bulgaria, &c.

His Highness, the General continued, would soon find out whence these proposals came from; and that whilst he felt sincerely desirous of seeing his Highness placed at the head of public affairs, since he was far superior as a Statesman to the present Grand Vizier, he would not cease to entertain the greatest friendship for him.

Midhat Pasha replied that he would fully respond to the affection which the General bore him at the bottom of his heart.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 473.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 1366.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 16, 1876.

GENERAL KLAPKA, who called upon me this morning, told me that he had seen the Sultan several times lately, and had had an opportunity of learning His Majesty's views and disposition.

The Sultan is, he says, extremely pacifically inclined, and declares himself ready to make almost any sacrifice and concession in the interest of peace.

There were only three things which might, perhaps, be brought forward at the Conference to which he could not possibly consent.

These are: a Russian occupation of any part of his territories; the taking away of the arms of the Mussulmans; and the grant of exceptional institutions to the Slav provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 474.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 1369.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 18, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of an important letter from Colonel Home upon the military position of Turkey, and the object that Russia seems to wish to attain by means of the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 474.

Colonel Home to Mr. Jocelyn.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 17, 1876.

IN continuation of my letter to you of the 13th instant, I have the honour to request that you will be good enough to lay this letter before his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador.

I must premise that I am entirely ignorant of the nature and state of the negotiations that are at present going on; but, it being absolutely requisite that the military situation should be carefully watched, and that situation being inextricably tied up with the political state of affairs, I find it impossible to separate them one from another, and must, however reluctantly, refer to matters which are far beyond my province.

Russia has mobilised a large proportion—about two-thirds—of her army; she is said to be about to mobilise the remainder.

The army of the south has been posted with the evident intention of passing the Pruth at Sculiani and Kischevnow. As was anticipated, Russia cannot keep her army mobilised for any length of time and do nothing.

She must use her force, or return to a peace establishment. What will she do?

I am informed (through a source that may or may not be reliable, but which, finding many small things confirmatory of the information, I am disposed to believe) that Russia, with the view of placing herself in consonance with the public opinion of Europe, and with the view of detaching England from the Turkish alliance, will act as follows:—

She will withdraw her own proposals; will agree to and consent to everything that the Representatives of the Great Powers may wish.

When the Conference really meets, she will come to that Conference in full accord with the other Powers.

But, meantime, she will have got her army into a proper state, will be fully prepared for an advance, and will, by means well known, induce the Turks to refuse all concessions, or at least many of those demanded by the Great Powers.

She will meet this refusal by a manifesto to the world, saying, "We have done all we could, we have withdrawn our own views, we have placed ourselves completely in accord with you, the Great Powers of Europe, especially with you, England. With the result we have anticipated you and ourselves are met with a *non possumus*. We can wait no longer, our army is ready and we must act."

The Turks are very proud and jealous. The country is divided into parties. One dates the decadence of the Empire from the abolition of the Janissaries and the introduction of European customs; the other says, we have not yet advanced far enough in our reforms. But these parties are both united to oppose foreign intervention, especially Russian intervention.

The Turkish army is desirous of war. The tremendous strain of the conscription can be borne for a short time only, and the Moslem population contemplate a war with Russia as preferable to the crushing weight of an armed peace.

Thus I am informed war between Turkey and Russia must come, and Russia, by the policy above-described, will have detached England from the Turkish alliance. She will have established a solidarity between English and Russian demands, and she will thus render English aid to the Turks (in the early stage of the war at least) impossible.

I am informed that the events I have referred to, viz., the publication of the manifesto and the passage of the Pruth, are fixed for the 5th and 7th, or 7th and 9th of January.

Under circumstances such as these, to delay a Russian advance until some pretext arises for supporting the Turks would appear to be our only course. And I venture respectfully to again draw attention to the railway bridge over the Sereth, between Galatz and Ibraila.

The main body of the Russian army will, in all probability, attempt the passage of the Danube near Rustchuk, but a large force, chiefly cavalry, will probably cross near Galatz, and advance through the Dobrutscha. The destruction of the Sereth Bridge would disorganize this plan of operations.

The reasons why a portion of the Russian army will seek to cross at or near Galatz are evident. The Roumanian line of railway, Jassy, Galatz, Bucharest, Guirgevo, skirts the Danube for some distanbe between Galatz and Ibraila; thence it leaves the river.

The Danube, which preserves an easterly course as far as Rassowa, turns north, and at Galatz resumes its easterly direction. Thus, if the Russians do not hold the right bank of the stream here, their communications with Russia will be seriously endangered by Turkish troops acting in the Peninsula termed the Dobrutscha.

The importance of holding this Peninsula has been recognized since the earliest days. The Romans built a wall from Kustenje on the Black Sea to Medschidie, a place which was at the head of a lake connected with the Danube. This lake has during the last ten years been drained or partially so, by putting an embankment across the Channel communicating with the Danube, near Chernavoda. A very small expenditure of time and labour would cut this embankment and admit the Danube into the lake again. The Russian force that will cross at Galatz will be, as has been said, composed chiefly of cavalry. It will push on as rapidly as possible, and seek to occupy Rasgrad on the Rustchuk-Schumla line of railway.

I am informed that the Turks have the following troops on the Danube:—

Widdin	..	..	15,000 say 8,000
Rustchuk	..	..	15,000 „ 10,000
Silistria	..	..	15,000 „ 8,000
Tultscha	..	..	15,000 „ 8,000
Total	..	..	60,000 „ 34,000

These fortresses cannot now be held as they were held in 1828-29 and 1853-54. Railways and rifled artillery have increased the means of attack, while the means of defence are pretty much as ever they were.

The Russians will not attempt to besiege any of these places except, perhaps, Rustchuk, which, since the loss of the Giurgevo side, is a poor fortress, and must fall in a few days. The line of the Danube is really indefensible by such means. A Russian passage may be delayed by the use of light troops, clouds of irregular cavalry, and by breaking up road, bridges, and devastating the country; but no river has ever stopped an army, or ever will if the army be determined to cross, more especially a river like the Danube.

I am informed that there are 150,000 men at Pravdi, Schumla, and Varna. This is of great importance if only 100,000 men are really there, and the Turks are really engaged in intrenching the positions. These positions will have much effect on the result of the war.

Every means should be taken to induce the Turks to break up the Rustchuk-Schumla line, and run the rolling stock back to Varna, or into the sea.

The rolling stock on the Kustendje line should be also destroyed to prevent its being removed by water to Rustchuk, and used on the Rustchuk-Schumla line.

I most respectfully submit that influence should be brought to bear on the Turks to induce them to take the measures referred to in my letter No. 7, and in this letter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. HOME.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

No. 475.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 1374.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 19, 1876.

MIDHAT PASHA has been appointed Grand Vizier in the place of Mehemet Ruchdi Pasha.

The importance of this appointment at this moment is very great. Midhat Pasha is, beyond question, the most energetic and liberal of the Turkish statesmen, and a man of action, although his decisions are sometimes hasty.

He has always advocated the equality of Mussulmans and Christians, and wishes for a constitutional control over the power of the Grand Vizier as well as of the Sultan.

He is opposed to centralisation, and in favour of giving the provincial populations much control over their local affairs.

He has at times spoken strongly to me against the grant of special institutions in the Slav Provinces; but he is a man who listens to argument, and may perhaps be brought to see the necessity of it under present circumstances.

He is hated by General Ignatiew, who often spoke of him as a brigand, a filibuster, a charlatan, and a madman, and as the dislike is reciprocal, it may influence his conduct.

He is disliked by the old Mussulman party, but is regarded as the hope of the Mussulman reformers and of the Christians.

He used formerly always to wish to follow the advice of Her Majesty's Government, but I am not aware what his feelings towards England are at this moment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 476.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 1377.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 21, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of communications which have been made by the Porte to the Six Powers complaining of the violation of the armistice by the Servians and Montenegrins, and throwing upon them the responsibility of the consequences which might follow their continued irruptions into the neutral zone.

The Porte has also, by a *note verbale*, of which a copy is inclosed, declared itself unable to accept the clause of the arrangement decided upon by the Commission of demarcation with regard to the line of the Drina, which concerns the evacuation of the islands by the Ottoman troops, and the establishment of a postal service across the island of Beyekli.

The first of these conditions is declared to be impracticable on strategical grounds, and the second to be superfluous and disadvantageous to the military position.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 476.

Memorandum sent to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople.

PAR suite des combats qui se sont livrés à Isvor, à Zaitchar, et dans les environs, des femmes et des enfants Serbes au nombre de trente-cinq avaient été laissés à l'abandon.

Mues par un sentiment d'humanité et de commisération, les autorités Impériales avaient recueilli ces malheureux, qui ont été logés dans des maisons Bulgares, par l'entremise du Métropolitain de Widin, nourris et habillés aux frais de l'Etat.

Aujourd'hui les femmes et les enfants en question ont été conduits à Radovitza et remis, contre reçu, aux autorités Serbes de cette échelle, par les soins d'un Bulgare nommé Todoraki.

Sublime Porte, le 14 *Décembre*, 1876.

Inclosure 2 in No. 476.

Memorandum sent to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople.

LES nouvelles reçues d'Alexinatz signalent une nouvelle violation de l'armistice par les Sérbes: ceux-ci viennent d'occuper certains villages compris dans la zône neutre tels que Mossatcha, Rassitcha, et Magova. Malgré les démarches itératives faites auprès de qui de droit ces villages se trouvent à l'heure qu'il est entre les mains des agresseurs.

La suspension d'armes n'est pas plus respectée du côté de Vidin. Les Serbes en profitent pour venir commettre des déprédations dans les localités dégarnies de troupes et répasser la ligne de démarcation après s'être livrés à toute sorte d'actes de barbarie.

Ainsi dans la soirée de $\frac{26}{8}$ Décembre douze Serbes se sont introduits dans la maison du nommé Zoher, notable Bulgare du village de Zoloïtza, dépendance de Belgradjik; ils ont saisi le malheureux Bulgare, l'ont exposé aux tortures du feu, et ne sont partis qu'après l'avoir rudement maltraité et avoir pillé sa maison. L'instruction à laquelle ce triste incident a donné lieu a établi que Zoher a perdu l'usage de la parole.

Le village de Gramada, dépendance d'Adlié, a été également visité par une trentaine de Serbes armés. Ces gens ont pénétré dans l'établissement d'un certain Yovan et, après y avoir fait bonne chère pendant une heure, s'en s'ont allés en emportant une paire de bœufs appartenant au propriétaire.

Les Monténégrins viennent à leur tour de violer l'armistice. Le village de Kérach, dépendant de Chestam et dont les habitants avaient du fuir devant les incursions des Montagnards, a été occupé par ces derniers le Dimanche, $\frac{15}{27}$ Novembre.

Sublime Porte, le 14 *Décembre*, 1876.

Inclosure 3 in No. 476.

Memorandum sent to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople.

DES bandes composées en majeure partie de Serbes, de Monténégrins, de Croates, et de Dalmates, viennent de faire irruption dans les arrondissements de Banjaluka et de Travnik. Leurs forces réunies sont si considérables qu'elles ont été jusqu'à mettre le siége devant Quélouteh.

Cet état de choses mettra les autorités Impériales dans l'obligation de repousser par la force armée les agressions des bandes qui ne cessent d'opérér à la faveur de l'armistice.

Afin de prévenir tout malentendu la Sublime Porte croit devoir établir dès à présent le caractère et les conséquences de cette situation nouvelle dont elle décline la responsabilité.

Sublime Porte, le 17 *Décembre*, 1876.

Inclosure 4 in No. 476.

Memorandum sent to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople.

DES Monténégrins armés ne cessent de violer la zône neutre tracée par la Commission de la Démarcation du côté de Podgoritza. Non contents de mener paître leur bétail dans les pâturages de ce district, les agresseurs s'avancent jusqu'à une petite distance des habitations.

Ce qui est digne d'une attention toute particulière, c'est que les représentations faites, à ce sujet, auprès de qui de droit n'ont servi qu'à accentuer les empiètements signalés.

Le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères s'empresse de porter cet état de choses à la connaissance de leurs Excellences MM. les Représentants des Puissances Médiatrices, afin de mettre la responsabilité de la Sublime Porte à couvert en prévision de toute éventualité.

Sublime Porte, le 17 *Décembre*, 1876.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Inclosure 5 in No. 476.

Note Verbale sent to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople.

D'APRES une dépêche télégraphique de Vely Pasha, Commandant de la Division Militaire de Bosnie, en date du 30 Novembre / 12 Décembre, la Commission de Démarcation vient de terminer ses travaux à Bélina; elle en a consigné le résultat dans un rapport dont les principaux points se décomposent ainsi qu'il suit:—

1. Evacuation dans les quarante-huit heures par les troupes Impériales de toutes les îles situées dans la Drina entre Wichgrad et Ratcha.

2. Etablissement d'un service postal à travers Beyekli, île sise à proximité de Zvornik.

3. Libre navigation de la Drina pendant l'armistice.

4. Obligation pour les deux armées de ne pas faire des rondes de patrouilles au delà de eurs positions respectives au Petit Zvornik; et, enfin,

5. Faculté pour les deux parties de construire toutes sortes de fortifications en deçà de ces positions.

Telle est, en substance, la décision de la Commission.

La Sublime Porte n'hésite pas à accepter les deux premiers points. Elle accepte également la troisième, à la condition toutefois, d'exercer une surveillance rigoureuse sur l'équipage et le changement des embarcations, qui ne doivent pas servir au transport de munitions ni d'hommes armés.

Mais, pour ce qui est de l'évacuation des îles occupées par les troupes Ottomanes, le Gouvrnement Impérial déclare ne pouvoir s'y prêter à aucun prix. Indépendamment des considérations stratégiques, le droit des gens exclut l'admissibilité d'une décision si peu conforme aux principes qui doivent présider à la fixation de la zône neutre.

Quant à l'établissement d'un service postal à l'île de Beyekli les autorités militaires y voient des inconvénients sérieux; l'existence des postes qui fonctionnent à Zvornik et à Ratcha ôte, du reste, toute raison d'être à cette condition.

En s'empressant de porter ce qui précède à la connaissance de leurs Excellences MM. les Représentants des Puissances Médiatrices, le Ministère Impérial se voit par conséquent dans l'obligation de déclarer qu'il ne saurait accepter les cinq points arrêtés comme ci-dessus par la Commission de Démarcation que sous le bénéfice des observations qui précèdent, et dans les limites qu'il vient d'indiquer.

Sublime Porte, le 17 *Décembre*, 1876.

No. 477.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 1379.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 21, 1876.

IN compliance with your Lordship's despatch No. 766 of the 16th ultimo, I conveyed to Mr. Consul Blunt your approval of the steps which he had taken for the restoration to their homes of the women and children that had been carried away from Batak, and were supposed to be detained in the district of Salonica.

In the letter which I now have the honour to inclose, Mr. Blunt reports his further proceedings in this matter, and states that the Turkish authorities have displayed much anxiety and perseverance in endeavouring to restore the captives, and he appears to believe that their release will be more easily obtained were those who are detaining them assured of being leniently dealt with.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 477.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 16, 1876.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Derby's despatch to your Excellency No. 766 of the 16th ultimo, approving of the steps which I have taken for the restoration of the Bulgarian women and children who have been carried away from Batak,

and who are supposed to be detained at Nevrocop and other districts in the Vilayet of Salonica.

In continuation of my preceding Reports upon this subject, I have the honour to submit herewith inclosed to your Excellency a translated copy of a letter which I have received from Eshref Pasha, Vali of Salonica, in answer to renewed and urgent representations which I addressed to his Excellency in behalf of these unfortunate people.

I also inclose a translated copy of a letter of instructions (Bouyouroaldi) which the Vali has addressed to the subordinate Provincial Governors through two Delegates appointed by him, at my suggestion, for the purpose of making searching inquiries after these people in the districts where it is supposed they are concealed.

I should also inform your Excellency of my having been told by the Pasha of Salonica that Ali Bey, the Mutessarif of Drama, has been recalled, and a more efficient Governor appointed in his stead.

I deem it my duty to bring under the notice of your Excellency the sincerity and perseverance with which Eshref Pasha continues his endeavours to obtain the restitution of these captives, but I am afraid that one of the chief obstacles which interfere with his efforts in this direction is the dread entertained by those who detain these captives of a severe punishment.

Were they to have the impression that, if not pardoned, they would at least be leniently treated, they would probably be more ready to restore them to the authorities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 477.

Eshref Pasha to Consul Blunt.

(Traduction.)

Mon honorable Ami, *Le* 25 *Novembre*, 1876.

AYANT été informé de votre part, ainsi que par d'autres sources, que pendant les événements de Bulgarie on a enlevé du village de Batak plusieurs enfants et qu'on les a fait passer clandestinement aux alentours de Nevrocop et de Drama, et comme c'est un sujet de grande importance auprès du Gouvernement Impérial que de pareils enfants, s'il y en a, soient découverts et remis à leurs parents qui se trouvent dans leur pays, nous avions écrit itérativement d'une manière péremptoire et catégorique au Mutessariflik de Sérés et de Drama à l'effet que s'il y a de pareils enfants qu'on fasse tout ce qu'on peut pour les retrouver et qu'on les envoie à la Commission *ad hoc* qui a été formée à Philippopoli et qu'on punisse d'une manière exemplaire ceux qui osent faire évader ces enfants et les cacher chez eux.

Dans les réponses que j'ai reçues on m'informait qu'il n'y avait pas de pareils enfants dans ces contrées là. Cependant tout dernièrement ayant reçu l'avis de la part du susdit Mutessariflik, ainsi que de votre part, qu'on venait de découvrir au district de Sari-Shahan deux enfants qui furent expédiés au chef-lieu du Mutessariflik, je les avais fait venir ici, après communication préalable avec le Mutessariflik, et je les ai expédiés à la capitale. En même temps étant à présumer qu'il y avait encore de tels enfants j'avais écrits de nouveau d'une manière énergique et péremptoire, tant au Mutessariflik de Drama qu'à celui de Sérés, en leur intimant de faire de nouveau les investigations les plus complètes et les plus minutieuses afin de porter à la lumière, par tous les moyens possibles, les cas comme le précédent, s'il s'en trouve encore, et de punir ceux qui avaient fait évader les susdits deux enfants. Il est vrai que là dessus j'ai reçu la réponse comme quoi, malgré les recherches minutieuses on n'a pas pu découvrir d'autres filles ou garçons, cependant, comme il est d'une importance majeure que le Gouverneur-Général de la Province soit complètement satisfait que toutes les mesures possibles ont été prises pour atteindre le but que l'on a en vue et bien que les membres de la Commission qui est arrivée de Philippopoli ainsi que les délégués qui ont été nommés à Sérés, aient pris les mesures les plus efficaces et qu'ils y aient fait les investigations les plus complètes, je n'ai pas manqué de mon côté pour plus de sûreté d'envoyer aussi un délégué *ad hoc* pour le Sandjak de Sérés et de faire nommer à Drama deux hommes de confiance avec mission de faire rechercher dans chaque district et village, de prendre les enfants partout où ils les trouvent, et de les envoyer à l'autorité locale accompagnés de ceux qui ont osé les enlever. En même temps des ordres séparés conçus dans le style le plus péremptoire et catégorique

ont été adressés aux deux Mutessarifliks en question en leur intimant d'accorder main forte et assistance aux susdits délégués dans toutes mesures qu'ils croiraient à propos de prendre, et j'ai de nouveau écrit au Mutessarif de Drama par rapport à la punition de ceux qui avaient fait évader les susdits deux enfants. En un mot, le Gouvernement du Vilayet a pris les mesures les plus complètes et les plus efficaces par rapport à cette affaire. Je conclus en vous priant d'avoir la bonté, en cas qu'il vous arriverait d'être informé qu'il y a de pareils enfants, filles, ou garçons, soit dans le Sandjak de Sérés soit dans celui de Drama, et qu'ils se trouvent en tel ou tel endroit, de m'en faire part et je vous en serai bien obligé.

Je saisis, &c
(Signé) ESHREF.

Inclosure 3 in No. 477.

Orders addressed to Provincial Governors by Eshref Pasha.

PAR le présent Bouyourouldi (ordre) nous faisons savoir à toi M. . . . qui en es porteur et aux Caïmacams, Naibs, Muftis, et Membres des Conseils Administratifs des districts qui se trouvent dans le Sandjak de . . . qu'en vue de rechercher et de découvrir les enfants mâles et femelles dérobés pendant les derniers événements de Bulgarie et emportés clandestinement aux alentours de Drama et de Sérès ; d'après les informations reçues nous avons nommé comme délégués spéciaux, Tahir Omer pour Drama, et Sadik Bey pour Sérès, tous deux notables de l'endroit, et nous les avons envoyés sur les lieux.

En présence des difficultés que les événements en question ont déjà causés, cette affaire de l'enlèvement des enfants est devenue une matière de première importance auprès du Gouvernement, nécessitant la prise des mesures les plus sévères et les plus efficaces, telle que l'envoi des délégués en question et autres. Nous espérons bien que tous les employés du Gouvernement et en général tous les sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan s'empresseront d'accorder aux susdits délégués aide et assistance dans les recherches qu'ils vont faire et dans les mesures qu'ils croiront à propos de prendre, et que tous ceux qui possèdent une information quelconque par rapport aux enfants enlevés et cachés, en feront part aux sus-nommés. Cependant si le contraire arrivait, c'est-à-dire, si d'un district quelconque on répondait qu'il n'y a point là d'enfants enlevés et cachés et l'on venait à découvrir plus tard qu'il y en a, tous les employés depuis le Caïmacam jusqu'au Mouhtar du village, chacun selon son degré d'autorité, assumerait une très grave responsabilité, et comme les susdits délégués ont les pleins pouvoirs du Gouvernement toute plainte de leur part ne saurait que rencontrer auprès de nous un accueil efficace. Conséquemment toi qui es le délégué sus-nommé tu es requis d'exécuter dans ce sens ta mission, et vous Caïmacams et autres à qui cet ordre s'adresse ne manquez pas d'accorder votre assistance et co-opération afin d'atteindre le but que l'on a en vue d'après ce qui vous a été expliqué ici-dessus. En foi de quoi le présent Bouyourouldi a été émané de la part du Gouverneur-Général de Salonique.

No. 478.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 897.)
My Lord,

Vienna, December 27, 1876.

ALEKO PASHA, the Turkish Ambassador, who had an interview with Count Andrassy two days ago, tells me that his Excellency expressed to him an earnest hope that the Porte would accept the proposals agreed on by the European Plenipotentiaries at Constantinople, and that, on his objecting to the employment of foreign gendarmes as a guard for the Commission which will be appointed to superintend the execution of the reforms to be effected in the province, his Excellency said their number would only amount to 2,000 or 3,000 men, and that they might be looked on as being employed by the Porte, as they could not remain in the country without its sanction.

I said to the Pasha that I knew nothing except from the newspapers and from information received at the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the proposals made to the Porte, but that I quite agreed with Count Andrassy that as the foreigners to be

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employed might form the nucleus, on which a well organized native police force might be formed of Mussulmans and Christians, on a European model, I could not see why it should be considered derogatory to the dignity and independence of the Turkish Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.